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ABSTRACT

This symposium focused principally on a transcultural approach to music teaching and learning. After an introductory chapter, contents (1) compare the music and dance of the Hawaiian and Hopi peoples; (2) explore the role of the music teacher in multi-cultural societies; (3) present a pictorial notation designed for the transmission of traditional Polynesian dance, comparing the notation with four alternate pictorial systems; (4) discuss how music making could be better learned in modern industrial society, drawing on the music education practices of the Venda people of South Africa; (5) delineate ethnomusicological principles guiding music education within a museum setting, including examples from Mohave and Mende traditions; (6) contrast learning and teaching in the Blackfoot Indian and Iranian conceptions of music; (7) describe Tshokwe principles of music making; (8) explore ways music-dance and music-dance education might shape consciousness toward an agenda of world peace and justice; (9) examine variables in the transmission of cultural knowledge through performance, as they apply to the Kassena-Nankani and the Mapuche; (10) offer observations about Bulgarian music education, with implications for the western system of music education; (11) briefly describe performances and workshops; and (12) discuss the application of ethnomusicology to music teaching and learning. (RH)

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Becoming Human Through
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The Wesleyan Symposium
on the Perspectives
of Social Anthropology
in the Teaching and
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Becoming Human Through MUSIC

The Wesleyan Symposium on the Perspectives of Social Anthropology in the Teaching and Learning of Music

August 6-10, 1984

Wesleyan University
Middletown, Connecticut

Proposed by Music Educators National Conference
Interdisciplinary Committee

Paul R. Lehman, Chair, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
William E. English, Arizona State University, Tempe
Gerard L. Knieter, The University of Akron, Akron, Ohio

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Reston, Virginia

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Participants

JOHN BLACKING is professor and head of the Department of Social Anthropology, the Queen's University of Belfast, Ireland. Blacking received his M.A. at King's College, Cambridge, and the Ph.D. from the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, which also awarded him a D.Litt. for his published works in ethnomusicology. He has been a pianist and performer/promoter of contemporary music. He has done field work in archaeology, social anthropology, and ethnomusicology in Cyrenaica, Malaya, Mozambique, Zululand, Venda, and Larne. He is a past president of the Society for Ethnomusicology and is the founder and a member of the steering committee of the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology. He is active in dance and movement studies and was a member of the inaugural committee of the Society for Dance Research in the United Kingdom. His books include Black Background, Venda Children's Songs, How Musical Is Man?, and The Anthropology of the Body.

ROBERT GARFIAS is professor of music and dean of fine arts at the University of California, Irvine. Garfias received his undergraduate degrees from San Francisco State University and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California at Los Angeles. His field research includes recording and filming in Romania, Central America, Africa, Mexico, the Philippines, Burma, Japan, and Korea; he has studied and performed with the orchestra of the Imperial Court in Tokyo. His publications include Music of a Thousand Autumns, The Togaku Style of Japanese Court Music, Spanish American Music and Its Roots, and Burmese Music and Dance. His recent interests include a focus on the layers of cultural experience that determine the performer's perception of a given musical tradition.

GERALD T. JOHNSON is the Executive Director of the Cleveland Children's Museum. Until recently he was a museum educator at the Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Johnson received his B.A. in psychology at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, and his Certificate of Doctoral Candidacy in Anthropology at Indiana University, Bloomington. Since 1975, his interest has focused on the museum as a locus of teaching, and anthropology and ethnomusicology as modes of teaching. His research in the musics of American Indians, folk music in the European-American tradition, and the music of the Mende in Sierra Leone, Africa, have led him to responsorial and other types of songs as teaching instruments. He has organized numerous conferences and media performances on the expressive arts and innovative ways of teaching. He is the writer and performer of Teach Tapes.

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER is curator of oceanic ethnology at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Kaeppler studied English literature at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and voice at the Wisconsin Conservatory of Music, and received her B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. in

Anthropology at the University of Hawaii, Honolulu. Her field research has been in Tonga, Hawaii, Tahiti, and Fiji and includes work in archaeology as well as the ethnography of music and dance. Her most recent book is *Polynesian Dance, with a Selection for Contemporary Performances*.

JOANN W. KEALI'INOHOMOKU is associate professor of anthropology at Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff. Keali'inohomoku studied speech, anthropology, music, and dance as an undergraduate at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and the University of Hawaii. She received her M.A. at Northwestern and her Ph.D. at Indiana University, Bloomington, both in anthropology with a focus on dance. Her field research has been in the dance of the cultures of the Pacific and Native American dance in the southwestern United States, especially among the Hopi Indians. Her publications include *Theory and Methods for an Anthropological Study of Dance*, "The Drama of the Hopi Ogres," and "You Dance What You Wear, and You Wear Your Cultural Values."

CHARLES M.H. KEIL is professor of American studies, State University of New York at Buffalo. Keil received his undergraduate degree at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, in American studies and his M.A. and Ph.D. in Anthropology at the University of Chicago. He has done field research in the popular musics of the Orient, the Mediterranean, and the United States, and in popular and traditional music in Africa. His *Urban Blues* has been published in Japan as well as in several editions in the United States. *Tiv Song* won the Chicago Folklore Prize in 1980.

BRUNO NETTL is professor of music and of anthropology at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Nettl received his A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. at Indiana University, and the Master of Arts in Language Studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He is a noted scholar in the history and theory of ethnomusicology; his field research has been in Iran and with the Blackfoot Indians in Montana. He has lectured widely around the world and has served as editor and president of the Society for Ethnomusicology. His books include *An Introduction to Folk Music in the United States* (four editions), *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, and *The Study of Enthomusicology*, 1983.

TIMOTHY RICE is associate professor in the faculty of music, University of Toronto, Canada. He received his B.A. at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, and his M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of Washington, Seattle. His principal field research has been in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. He is the coeditor of *Cross-Cultural Perspectives in Music* and editor of *Ethnomusicology*, the journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology. He is currently teaching a course at the University of Toronto, "Multi-Cultural Music Education."

CAROL E. ROBERTSON is associate professor of music at the University of Maryland, College Park. Robertson received the advanced diploma in violin and musicology at the Conservatorio Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina, her B.S. at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico and her M.A. and Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology, Folklore, and Anthropology at Indiana University, Bloomington. Her field research has been among the Mapuche Indians of Argentina, the Tzeltal Indians of Chiapas, Mexico, and the Kassena-Nankani of North Ghana.

She has organized the directed numerous music performances and conferences including Studies in the African Humanities in 1972-74, and the First National Music Festival, Washington, D.C., in 1982. She is currently the president of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Her recent publications include "*Tayil* as Category and Communication among the Argentine Mapuche: A Methodological Suggestion," "Pulling the Ancestors: Performance Practice and Praxis in Mapuche Ordering," and "Bonding, Transition and Song" from *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, in press.

BARBARA SCHMIDT-WRENGER is a former lecturer for ethnomusicology at the University of Kassel and assistant in ethnomusicology at the University of Cologne, West Germany. Schmidt-Wrenger studied musicology, ethnology, psychology, and theater at the University of Cologne, where she received her Ph.D. She has also taught at the Children's Music School there. She has done two years of field work among the Tshokwe of Angola and Zaire. One focus of her research has been the music of women and children in Africa and the emphasis she found there on music as a metaphor of life itself. Her main interest is in the perception and transmission of music. Since 1974, she has been producing radio broadcasts in Europe, specializing in folklore and ethnomusicology programs. Her books and recordings include *Music and Musicians of the Angolan Border* and *On the Role of Women in the Traditional Music of Africa*.

DAVID P. McALLESTER, project director of the symposium, is professor of anthropology and music at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. McAllester received his B.A. from Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and his Ph.D. from Columbia University, New York City. He is one of the founders of the Society for Ethnomusicology and a former president of the society and editor of its journal. His field research has been in a variety of Native American communities with a special focus on music and poetry of Navajo religious drama. His books include *Enemy Way Music*, *Myth and Prayers of the Great Star Chant*, *Navajo Blessingway Singer* (coauthored with Charlotte J. Frisbie), and *Hogans: Navajo Houses and House Songs* (coauthored with Susan W. McAllester).

EDWARD O'CONNOR, author of the synopsis of discussion group sessions, is professor of music at the University of Connecticut, Storrs. His paper was reported at the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Los Angeles, October 19, 1984.

Chapter 1

The Wesleyan Symposium

David P. McAllester

When we travel abroad we often find ourselves thinking of home and appreciating home comforts we took for granted before. When, in our travels, we meet a compatriot we are surprised to find our own language so expressive and delightful. In fact, we find that we have gained a new perspective on ourselves and the way we are accustomed to living. But, also, most of us never forget the excitement of new sights and sounds and the ideas that new geographies and other cultures have given us. Travel is "broadening" not only in new experiences but in a new understanding of the human possibilities.

Suppose one of our strongest interests is music, and we find ourselves traveling where everyone is musical? Among the Venda of South Africa this music educator's dream is a reality: there an individual achieves full stature as a human being by demonstrating musical skill to the community. Every musician/human is also a composer, as a matter of course, and is also a dancer/choreographer, all without benefit of foundation support or even the ability to read and write.

This is a staggering discovery for a music teacher in our civilization which is obviously "advanced," but where we worry about the high proportion of people who "can't sing," who are, in fact, paralyzed musically. Our tendency to explain this by assuming there are only a gifted few in any community is challenged by the evidence of the Venda and many other cultures in the world where there is no tone deafness, and music performance as well as appreciation seems to be for everyone. Our next explanation might be, "if the music is 'tribal' and simple enough, of course everybody can learn it." But this position, too, loses credibility when we discover that even the children among the Venda master complex polyrhythms almost unknown in Western European ensembles, or that Navajo ceremonial singers know, by heart, nine-day chants equivalent in content to the libretto, score, costume, and staging of a Wagnerian opera. Also, we remember, most of our own musical non-learners cannot perform even the simplest music in our own tradition.

Perhaps music educators have enough to do meeting daily commitments without traveling around the world to find out what music is. But a discovery such as the musicality of the Venda is so germane to our professional interests that we cannot help wishing we knew what other unusual musical abilities there are in the world and what other ideas about music have developed in the rich treasure-trove of the pan-human mind.

It was not just curiosity but a deep sense of crisis in the world of music teaching and learning that led the Music Educators National Conference to organize the Tanglewood Conference in 1967, and many others, subsequently, in order to review, many times over, what music is and what it does. The Wesleyan Symposium on the Perspectives of Social Anthropology in the Teaching and Learning of Music was the first such conference to focus principally on a transcultural approach, seeking information from musical practice and thought, world-wide. Sponsored by Wesleyan University and the Interdisciplinary Committee of the MENC and funded by the Presser Foundation, the symposium brought together anthropologists and ethnomusicologists from Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States. They were John Blacking, Robert Garfias, Gerald T. Johnson, Adrienne L. Kaeppler, Joann W. Keali'inohomoku, Charles M.H. Keil, Bruno Nettl, Timothy Rice, Carol Robertson, and Barbara Schmidt-Wrenger. Brief sketches of their background, research, and publications can be found on pp. vii-ix.

Their presentations were made to an audience representing all levels of music education from pre-school to college; they came from fourteen states, some of them as far from Connecticut as Oklahoma, Texas, and Oregon. Most of these teachers had already worked with multicultural emphases and were seeking encouragement and new information to bring to their classrooms.

The ideas to be found in this publication are drawn from studies in the music and associated arts of some thirty of the thousands of different cultures around the world. From this fraction of the resources available to us comes a rich fare that provides the food for much reflection on what we do and what we might do in music education. I will comment on some of the most persistent observations that came out of the Symposium.

The role of the music teacher around the world is, of course, of basic interest to America's music educators seeking new perspectives in the teaching and learning of music. There is music everywhere, but is it learned the same way everywhere?

There are impressive differences in emphasis. As children, we learn some of our music from our peers, but among the Kassena-Nankani (Robertson) one's peers are the only teachers, and among the Venda (Blacking) the teachers are slightly senior peers, rather than adults. Among folk musicians in Bulgaria it is the music itself that is the teacher (Rice). This is ultimately true of all music, but Timothy Rice's study reminds us of many musical traditions where the role of "teacher" seems hardly to exist and musicians are, in our terms, self-taught. Some American Indians, such as the Blackfeet reported by Bruno Nettl, learn their traditional music from the supernatural in dreams and visions. From our point of view, they are composers as well as learners and so are the Africans and Bulgarians mentioned above. The idea that every musician is a composer is a heady one to us with our tendency to teach music as performance and consider composition as a separate and advanced art.

Gerald Johnson indicated the way his fieldwork in Africa and among American Indians led to his use of music in teaching other subjects. The power music has to impress ideas was well understood by one of Barbara Schmidt-Wrenger's African teachers who said, "Things are not forgotten if they are made into a song." Our advertising industry knows this fact, better perhaps than does our teaching profession.

In considering how music is learned, from a transcultural perspective, we might, in our culture, learn a new respect for the potency of music itself. The suggestion comes from many of the presentations at the Wesleyan Symposium that we could take better advantage than we do of self-learning, peer-learning, and of the total musical environment as teacher.

The inseparability of music and dance was understood as a matter of course by the Greek philosophers who laid the intellectual foundations for Western European culture. It is still taken as a matter of course in most of the cultures reported in the Symposium. It is understood in the popular culture of our own world. It is not as well understood in our academies where performance in the arts tends to be isolated from intellection and where dance literacy and scholarship are still struggling for admission.

Can dance music be "serious" music? There are doubts in the educational sector of our culture that it can, especially in the case of "merely" social dancing. This is all the more reason for music teachers to study the role of music and dance, taken together, in communities where everybody dances as part of the music, where there is no separate passive audience but where the entire community participates. What have we lost by limiting to the first few grades the opportunity for a whole class to dance together as part of the music? Where, except in the heavily Africanized West Indies, do we find a whole city celebrating by dancing and making music together? Charles Keil recommends the salsa to the entire Atlantic Rim Culture as an antidote to our "trained incapacity" in music and dance. Timothy Rice adds the dimension of the body to the learning of instrumental music, pointing to the Bulgarian folk practice of learning bagpipes with the hand, rather than the mind.

The idea of the masterwork, the great creative product that will live forever, along with the name of the towering genius who achieved it, is at the center of our teaching of the arts and our concept of Art itself. This idea was found significantly missing in the cultures studied at the Wesleyan Symposium. The Western ideal is to present these masterworks to our young with such respect and appreciation that we will produce a host of little Leonardos. It is not just our elite who promote the image of the virtuoso hero or heroine--the popular star is also adulated and rewarded with fabulous riches. But Great Art, popular or elite, seems to have produced a race of observers. Is such a "high culture" genuine or spurious?

Edward Sapir, an anthropologist/philosopher, said nearly fifty years ago that the genuine could be found in small communities where everyone has a vital sense of belonging. In the realm of music, most of the papers in the Wesleyan Symposium cited with admiration small cultures with a high ratio of participation. Charles Keil proposed a systematic division of the mega-cultures into smaller, richer community loyalties where passions could be strong without threatening world equilibrium. In the Symposium no one suggested that in cultures where everyone is participating the music need be "simple." Complexities and artistic richness of rhythm, mode, melody, song text and movement were cited. It was accepted that there are exceptionally gifted artists in any community even without the notion of "greatness."

The function of music, which comes close to the definition of music, was found to differ widely around the world. In our own formal music teaching, we seem to say that the function of music is to exalt. Music is to lift one from ordinary perception to higher planes of awareness, serenity, joy, awe--to enhance feelings. We recognize the power of music to do this and, incidentally, to assist in various activities, from healing the sick to going to war, by setting the mood. We are less aware of other functions of our own music until we see them as major functions in other cultures. When we see the Hopis (Keali'inohomoku) keeping the world in order with music, it may illuminate our own use of music in our most solemn moments as when we perform the St. Matthew Passion at Easter as part of our own life-renewal drama. When we see the Kassena-Nankani establishing social boundaries with music, we are reminded of the status and interest boundaries signaled by the variety of musical tastes in our own culture.

We are still at least halfway engaged in our myth that art exists for art's sake alone. Few music educators venture so far as to propose that music is a basic tool in teaching morality, ethics, the fundamental values of one's culture, or is necessary to life itself. The study of communities where these powers and functions of music are taken for granted can alert us to their presence everywhere. The Tanglewood Declaration called for music to be placed at the core of the school curriculum. This is more likely to happen when we understand music to be at the core of being human.

Following the papers in this volume are brief accounts of the concerts and workshops that took place during the Wesleyan Symposium. It was assumed that such a conference should not take place except in the presence of music and dance. The response of the symposium attendees gave ample proof of the long tradition of active participation among members of the Music Educators National Conference.

Chapter 2

Music and Dance of the Hawaiian and Hopi Peoples

Joann W. Keali'inohomoku

> On Perception: It is difficult to convince people, especially Americans, that what they perceive is not necessarily the same as what persons from other cultures perceive.
>
> After Foerstal (1977, p. 30)

This paper compares the music and dance of two cultures: Hawaiian of the Pacific and Hopi Indian from northern Arizona, both enclaves in the United States. Both have been influenced greatly by outside contacts, but both have been influenced selectively, and have maintained their identities in ways that are appropriate to their traditional ethos. Both have responded by adapting elements of their traditional cultures to that of "art." The Hawaiian people, on the one hand, have developed music and dance as their arts. The Hopis, on the other hand, have developed painting, jewelry, and certain crafts as fine arts.

For neither society were these forms considered to be arts, traditionally, as defined in the Western world. There is significance in their choices of affective forms·that are appreciated today as arts, that have provided economic gain, and become loci for ethnic identity and pride. The questions that arise are two--first, why did those forms become arts? And second, why have the Hawaiian selected the performance arts while the Hopis selected the grapic, static arts? The reasons why two societies with richly developed music/dance and graphic or plastic traditions chose to develop in two such differing ways after outside contact are informative in two ways. First, they show that changes occur within a society in culture-specific ways. Second, they show that the values of a dominant society are not simply superimposed on another society with predetermined results.

Thanks to Halla K. Keali'inohomoku for her thoughtful reading of this paper, and her several insights that have been incorporated in the text.

To address those questions and explore those ideas I will compare the traditional world views of the two societies and then summarize information about their music and dance. Then I will compare their responses to historical events and outside influences. Finally, I will touch on contemporary Hawaiian and Hopi arts.

The world views of these two societies are revealed by a look at their traditional social organization and values. The Hawaiian system was a stratified class system that required in-marriage within a class. The Hopi system is a clan system that requires out-marriage from one clan to another. You will notice that often I use the past tense to refer to traditional Hawaiians, and the present tense to refer to Hopis, to reflect the current state of change and continuity.

Background

Hawai'i

Hawaiian society was established by Polynesian seafarers who came from the Marquesas and the Society Islands before 1000 A.D. Those founder groups brought with them a concept of a society layered by classes of an aristocracy, clergy, intelligentsia, commoners with vocational specializations, and slaves who were captured in internecine wars. Except for the slaves, persons from all classes were trained rigorously for their vocations and often served apprenticeships before being admitted to professional status.

Hawaiian genealogists and bards kept oral chronological accounts, so that the Hawaiian sense of historical time was, and is, lineal and additive. Important persons were referred to by their names because names were metaphors for the qualities of persons, and they provide the subject for one genre of Hawaiian chants.

The Hawaiians were cognizant of an oceanic world elsewhere that was called kahiki, a vague term that referred to a mythical place "out there." Once the founders established Hawai'i ne'i ("the place right here"), there seems to have been little travel to islands other than those in the Hawaiian chain. However, touring from one part of an island to another, and from one island in the chain to another island in the chain was a popular pastime for the ruling classes, and is another subject for chants. Hawai'i was the real world for the kanakas, or real people, as they perceived themselves. Non-Hawaiian persons were referred to as haole, literally meaning "without breath." Their archipelago, so far from other land, makes these perceptions seem reasonable.

Space on their islands was reckoned in relationship to the ocean or the mountains but not by the cardinal directions. Land use was shaped by the island environment. Ruled by a paramount chief or chieftess, a given island was divided into wedges that extended from the mountains to the sea and were supervised by lesser chiefs on behalf of the paramount chief. Commoners were not land holders; they worked the land where they had allegiance to a lesser chief. There were no true villages, so commoners lived in areas appropriate to their vocations. For example, fishermen lived close to the sea and farmers lived closer to the mountains, but the specific locations of homes were determined by priestly divinations. Nevertheless, all Hawaiians felt a special tie with the land, and many chants were composed to express love for the land.

Every complete society includes a mythical charter for beliefs and behavior. The Hawaiians acknowledged a pantheon of deities and culture heroes, who, like those of the Greek mythical world, lived human-like lives, prone to human foibles and strengths. Although larger than life, they were neither omniscient nor omnipresent. The deities had varying degrees of power that paralleled their human counterparts. At the top of the hierarchy were four super deities who were the aristocrats of the pantheon. At a lower level were the guild deities and family guardians. More democratic nature deities cut across all levels, such as Pele, the goddess of the volcano. Her importance to the development of the hula will be outlined elsewhere. In addition to the deities there were numerous mythical beings of which the most famous were the tiny menehunes whose own pantheon of gods numbered in the thousands.

Each ascending level of deities had greater power or mana. In order to prevent defilement or misuse of the power, a system of tabus was observed. (Indeed the generic words mana and tabu were adopted into English as Polynesian loan words.) To maintain balance in the Hawaiian world the priests kept busy with divinations to determine appropriate behavior, and the Hawaiian people depended heavily on this advice so as to not break a tabu or offend a deity. The deities were not petitioned so much as they were propitiated. As long as persons showed respect for mana and tabu, and in other ways tried to please the deities, supernatural help could be expected.

Although the creation stories of the Hawaiians are complex and have several variations, the best known is that of the Kumulipo[1] that was translated and transcribed by Kalākaua, the last reigning king of Hawai'i (R. 1874-1891). The Kumulipo traces the genesis of plants, animals, and people. The rich language of this epic makes clear that words and their sounds serve multiple purposes. Beyond providing a narrative, words in the Kumulipo link ocean forms with land forms of plants and animals by verbal association and mystical "signatures." They establish the profound use of the double-entrendre as well as the esoteric power of words. Indeed, word magic was an especially powerful focus in Hawaiian culture. Any spoken word had power for good or ill by its utterance. But in addition, the creative use of words was much admired in that an idea could be projected through the use of word plays and circumlocutions.

Hopi

Born of mother earth, prehuman creatures emerged to this world after ascending from a series of underworlds. Upon emergence the creatures separated into cohorts that were to become the distinguishable ethnic groups of the world. The members of the cohort that became the Hopi senom, or Hopi people, emerged one male at a time. Each identified himself, his sister, and her children with the first thing he saw in this world--for example, a bear or badger--and, in this way, established matrilineal clans.

After emergence all the evolving humans confronted a beguiling, yet frightening being who revealed that he was Masaau, the god of death. He counseled them that, henceforth, as human beings, they would have life and its concomitant, death; each cohort had a mission to perform in order to maintain the balance of this human world. The Hopi senom were given the responsibility of controlling the weather to assure the world of proper amounts of moisture. After receiving this charge, the Hopi senom embarked on an epic diaspora as the clans scattered over the earth in the four cardinal directions, to find the rituals that would permit them to fulfill their mission. After untold numbers of years, the clans settled on the Hopi mesas, on the eastern periphery of the Grand Canyon, close to the earth navel from which they had emerged.

From the time of their settlement to the present, the Hopis have performed calendrical rituals, supervised at appointed times by the various clans. Hopi history is divided into three parts: before the emergence, the emergence and diaspora, and the present life. In the present life Hopi history is not lineal but cyclical. More correctly, Hopi history is a spiral that will conclude with the end of this world as we, and they, know it. There is no thought for the names of famous Hopi leaders, and there are few "human" culture heroes. A leader's actions are remembered as actions by a role rather than a specific named individual, and a recalled event is not placed in a chronology.

The Hopis are cognizant of a world with many peoples other than themselves. The awareness of the larger world is demonstrated by the continual references to the cardinal directions, but the Hopis feel they are at the center, and their spatial orientation is towards the center. They perceive themselves as a chosen people, and the correct way of life is the Hopi way. All other peoples are ka-Hopi--that is, not Hopi. Child-rearing practices encourage children to be Hopi, not ka-Hopi. In other words, misbehavior and foreignness are categorically the same.

Isolating themselves from negative outside influences, the Hopis built permanent villages that surround sacred centers within each village. In turn, their fields of corn, beans, squash, and cotton surround the villages and buffer them from the rest of the world. Lands are held by the clans, and land use is divided among the clan mothers for tending by their sons, brothers, and husbands. Division of labor is by age and sex, but not by class as among the Hawaiians. Traditionally there were no vocational specialties. Persons fill various cultural roles as the need arises. For example, a priest is an ordinary worker except when a ritual demands otherwise, or a medicine man or woman acts in the capacity of healer only when called upon.

The Hopi people seem never to have been aggressive toward other groups; they wanted to be left alone to pursue their mission. When other Indian groups were aggressive toward the Hopis, they responded by moving their villages to the very tops of the mesas which served as fortresses. Despite their physical isolation from the rest of the world, the Hopis are universalistic in that their religious work is thought to benefit all the peoples of the world.

Hopi social organization is deciphered by understanding the clan functions. Not stratified as the Hawaiians, they are egalitarian economically but not ritually. The amount and nature of ritual power and responsibility for each clan is determined by the order of its emergence. For example, because the bear clan was the first to emerge, its members are the head of the Hopis, and its destiny is to provide the head chief of a village. Unlike the Hawaiians, for whom a high chief was an absolute ruler with the power of life and death, the highest ranking Hopi chief from each autonomous village is perceived of as "father" to the community. His role is to nurture the members of the other clans, and see that goods are distributed equally. In some cases, however, he "punished," even by death, members of the community if such action benefitted the larger community or the cosmic mission.

A pious Hopi should achieve balance by maintaining the Golden Mean and transmitting potent energy through correct thinking. Correct thinking comes from a "good heart" that is singular in purpose and purity--that values the community and its spiritual work more than self or any other single individual.

In contrast, although the Hawaiian chiefs supervised the distribution of goods, also, the first and best goods were retained by the chiefs for their elite royal court and to support culturally affective endeavors such as the hula. Important individuals and their activities were valued highly in Hawaiian culture, and it was thought that their well-being insured the well-being of the larger community.

As with the Hawaiians, the Hopis' mythical charter for beliefs and behaviors includes a pantheon of deities, but the Hopi deities are impersonal and omnipotent; they give their benefits to everyone in the world. Many forces of nature are represented by deities in the Hopi pantheon, and their order of importance parallels the order in which they appeared to the newly emerged Hopi cohort. The top ranking deities are Masaau, the god of death, and Tawa, the sun god.

The 13,000 foot high San Francisco Peaks in northern Arizona are the home for the Hopi deities who have several categories of sacred messengers. They transmit the prayer petitions of the Hopis to the deities and, in turn, give instructions about virtuous behavior to the Hopi people. Of these sacred messengers, the most renowned are the katsina spirits, who literally create a link between the human and nonhuman world; they are the spirits of the Hopi dead who still care for the human world and want to help fulfill the Hopi mission. They are generalized dead, however, and not identifiable dead as in Chinese ancestor worship.

From these comparative backgrounds the stage is set to examine Hawaiian and Hopi music and dance, and to seek answers as to why they became arts for the Hawaiians but not for the Hopis.

Music and Dance

Music - Hawai'i

The Hawaiian myth that sanctions music, dance, the performers, and the performances collectively called hula[2], replicates several motifs of Hawaiian culture. For example, there is a well-developed motif of a lineal recounting of the activities of a founder, who is aristocratic with much inherent power (mana), who settles in Hawai'i ne'i after extensive traveling in search of a home. It includes the motifs of a ranked, nonegalitarian society with sacred sanctions that are authorized by deities or powerful culture heroes, and are revealed and expressed through the use of words. In my opinion, the hula myth seems to be a unique demonstration of the general Polynesian custom of a "talking chief" who utters power words on behalf of a sacred chief.

The primary traveler in the hula myth is Pele, the goddess of the volcano who, with her retinue comprising her numerous brothers and sisters, searches the Pacific for a home and abandons one volcanic island after another until she settles in the "Big Island" in the Hawaiian chain. The second traveler of the myth that establishes the hula complex is Pele's favorite little sister, known as Hi'iaka-in-the-bosom-of-Pele. Hi'iaka endures a mission of great hardship to escort Pele's lover to her powerful elder sister, Pele. As her mission unfolds she chants continuously and enhances the chant with magical gestures; and the hula becomes nascent. Her role as chanter seems analogous to that of the talking chief because she is the conduit of power among the principal parties, in this case, from Pele to Pele's lover. Hi'iaka is a healer, also, when her sister's lover dies and Hi'iaka chants him back to life. This clearly establishes the hula as a power form and a healing ritual, by the directed use of words as homeopathic or sympathetic magic, and the hula practitioner as a power broker and a healer. The hula practitioner is an historian and entertainer, also. Thus the hula practitioner is revealed as the keeper and dispenser of words that are presented in an aesthetic frame.

Two roles became essential to the traditional hula. The first was the role of the practitioner who had to be empowered officially to transmit hula. This was accomplished by rigorous training followed by a graduation or initiation into the guild of hula. That hula practitioners established the equivalent of a guild was consonant with a culture that featured vocational specializations. That the guild, responsible for highly charged occult phenomena, had its own deity was consonant, also. Laka, the hula deity, was invoked whenever and wherever an altar was erected for the esoteric hula. The second essential role was that of the patron who supported the hula, both for training and for performance. Patronage for the hula was provided by high-ranking aristocrats who were sacred themselves. Not only had they the economic means to support the hula, as well as the information and refinement to appreciate it, they also were powerful enough to be dedicatees.

Traditional Hawaiian music and dance can be understood as settings for words. As is evident, words for the Hawaiians are more than symbols. Working through the principle of homeopathic or sympathetic magic, words have phenomenal power, and are not used casually. In the old days, a newly composed chant had to be monitored by language experts before it could be performed lest some unsuspected power be unleashed.

Words serve to delight the minds of Hawaiians as well as to transmit power. Indeed, until the introduction of European melodies, Hawaiian music existed to convey poetry through "enhanced speech," or chants, or, more accurately, recitatives. Since chants are supreme in a traditional performance, they are composed before the illustrative dances are choreographed. A reference in a song text is always specific, but shrouded by abstruse poetic techniques. Many of the chants are riddles that are revealed in a closing spoken statement. The content of Hawaiian poetry honors important persons or deities, important places of historical note, and historic events. Chants include, also, lamentations, love songs, genealogies, prayers, spells, and passwords to sacred places. Secular chants for personal expression, such as games, lullabies, courtship, and humor fill out the repertory.

Texts are impacted in that there are many meaningful words and there are no vocables. Often lasting several minutes typically, Hawaiian poetry is through-composed, usually with formal openings and closings. When the texts are stanzaic, each stanza is performed twice. Texts include poetic images, secret references, word plays, and rhymes that match the vowel sounds of the end of one line with the vowel sounds of the openings of another (linked assonance).

The texts shape the rhythms, and the older style chants often have free metric forms. The melodic line of Hawaiian chants has an undulating contour with vocal embroidery around an organizing tone that occasionally resolves upward.

Only select individuals can become official chanters. An aspirant must be accepted as an apprentice by a master chanter after special auditions that include a breath-holding trial. Hawaiian composers and chanters are known by name, and if especially skillful they are esteemed and may even receive adulation. A chanter composes some chants, but other chants are heirlooms. Chanting is usually performed as a solo by either a man or woman. The vocal techniques include an open throat and vocal breaks and falsetto. Because of linguistic characteristics that include glottal stops, the chant quality is stacatto and/or gutteral. Usually chanters accompany themselves with one or more idiophones.

Hawaiians use a wide variety of idiophones, many of which are unqiue to Hawai'i. Some are manipulated by chanters only, such as the large single-headed drum that is played by the chanter while also striking a small drum that is attached above the knee. Other idiophones are manipulated by dancers, such as the bamboo lengths, about two feet long, that are split on the striking end so as to make a swishing sound when struck on the ground or body, or two pairs of water-worn pebbles whose method of playing has caused them to be referred to, in English, as "stone castanets." Hawaiian instruments include two aerophones, the nose flute, and the one-stringed ukeke, similar to a jaw's harp. Performed privately and without vocal chanting, the ukeke replicates the vowel tones of language, so for all intents and purposes it is a device to express poetry.

Music - Hopi

As Hawai'i is an aural society, so Hopi is a visual one. The major body of Hopi songs is composed for danced ritual performances. Neither Hawaiians nor Hopis traditionally have dance music without texts, and the texts are of paramount importance in both cultures. As with Hawaiian poetry, Hopi poetry is required for a performance and is composed, taught, and rehearsed before the choreography is devised, but other similarities to Hawaiian chant are nill. For example, Hopis do not have a specific myth or set of myths to account for the emergence of music and dance performances.

Song texts are stanzaic and paint verbal pictures that are seen in the mind's eye. A variety of homeopathic or sympathetic magic, Hopi texts are powerful because they encourage listeners to visualize appropriate images. The major images are animals, plants, or other natural phenomena as they relate to moisture and healing in association with the colors assigned to the four directions. Simple and quite short, often Hopi texts repeat a single image several times with a new color association for each stanza. For instance, one verse might refer to a white butterfly, and another to a yellow butterfly. Butterflies come with moisture, the colors of the butterflies and clouds and flowers are associated with the colors of the four directions, and each direction is associated with a distinctive kind of moisture. Distinguished by color, butterflies are not unique individuals and do not have personal names. Words are not impacted as they are in Hawaiian chants, and some Hopi songs have a preponderance of vocables.

There seem to be few secular songs in the Hopi repertory. Lullabies, corn-grinding songs, and game songs are sung by one or more persons. Today most of those songs are forgotten. There seem to have been no love songs, no lamentations, no songs of self-expression, no protest songs. Texts name no persons or heroes, and project no sentimentality, nostalgia, anger, or patriotism.

Hopi poets infer that listeners have the proper frames of reference to achieve good thoughts. Good thoughts are not specific to times, places, persons, or actions. Good thoughts are happy thoughts, happy thoughts bring balance, and balance implies sufficient moisture. Good thoughts are considered to be good medicine also, both for individuals and for the collective society. Men often sing katsina dance songs and the semisacred songs under their breaths, as they work by themselves, or loud enough to provide inspiration to their cornplants or their children; cornplants and children are classified together.

Seldom are melodies for Hopi songs newly composed. Any melody can be borrowed, but the original melody may be hidden after it has been adjusted to fit the words, and after it conforms with Hopi musical organization (AABBA) and style of performance. Typically, melodies have well-defined phrases, and adapt to a cascading contour that descends to an organizing tone.

Fond of borrowing ideas as well as melodies for songs, some songs are composed in languages other than Hopi, usually those of other Pueblo Indians such as Zuni or Santo Domingo. The song rhythms match the texts, and create interesting metric patterns. For example, a song may count out to 8, 8, 11, 32, repeated four times. The composer of a song need not have his words checked because of potential dangers. Instead, a Hopi composer gives an audition of his song to his performance group to receive suggestions for making the song more pleasing. Any man may try to compose a song if he chooses, and consultants say that sometimes a man nurtures a song for many years before he finally shares it with others. Although Hopi composers and singers are very active today, they are not publicly announced, and there is no such thing as a famous Hopi composer or singer.

Sung in unison by several men who sing with an open vocal quality that becomes throaty on the low tones, the style of male Hopi singing is driving and gutsy. When sung by men wearing masks, the tonal qualities change, becoming muffled or reverberating, according to the shape of the mask. Women's groups sing exclusively for their own healing society performances, and they sing with high, pinched tones.

Sometimes publicly performed songs are accompanied by a drum, sometimes by a rasp made of a sheep scapula scraped against a wooden notched stick that is held on an overturned half gourd resonator, and sometimes they are sung a capella. Dancers accompany themselves with other idiophones such as rattles and bells. Apparently there was once a wooden flute in the Hopi musical instrument inventory. Today it is played, but only on one note, for a single ceremony, although Hopi consultants claim that in the past there were flute players who knew how to play melodies. They had no indigenous stringed instruments.

Dance - Hawai'i

Hawaiian dance contrasts with Hopi dance as much as Hawaiian music contrasts with Hopi music.

Hawaiian dances include both formal and informal styles. Formal dance requires formally trained performers. The requirements for entering formal training are talent, dedication, and acceptance by a hula master. There is no discrimination by gender or age, although there were and are more women dancers than men, and older dancers are preferred for their more sophisticated understanding of words. Traditionally, heavy women are admired because they match an aesthetic ideal phenotype. Silhouettes of traditional Hawaiian women dancers are bulky, with horizontal lines created by outstretched arms, flexed knees, side to side movements, and bulky costumes. Each dancer maintains a discrete silhouette and is easily identifiable. Excellent dancers are singled out and can become very famous.

Formally trained dancers are dedicated to being performers, either vocationally or avocationally. They are subject to criticism from the chanter/dance master, as well as from invited observers. Even in informal situations, performers are scrutinized critically. For example, at a party or family get-together one or more persons bring a guitar or ukulele to sing several songs, and someone accompanies the song by dancing. These informal performances elicit audible comments from the observers.

In performance Hawaiian dancers keep their heads and upper torsos still, their arms at shoulder level, and their knees flexed (a technique that gives the impression of hip swaying). Although their gaze follows the movements of their hands, their energy is focused on the audience. Hawaiian dances are performed in varying spatial levels--upright, kneeling, sitting, even reclining. In a standing position the dancers may swoop or pose. They step from side to side, and forward and back. Floor patterns are not important; both solo and group dances are performed, and dancers in groups are arranged side by side in straight rows with individuals placed an arm's length apart.

Some dances require staccato movements while others require legato movements, depending upon the text. Hawaiian dances establish an ongoing pattern, rhythm, and single tempo within a single dance, although the tempi for entrances and exits may vary. Whereas we in the West think of music as accompanying the dance, in Hawai'i the reverse is true, because Hawaiian dance illustrates the all-important texts. In order to set an appropriate mood, dancers wear costumes in the style of an era but they do not typically impersonate others or wear mimetic costumes. Their performances are presentational rather than representational although some dancers report a feeling of transcendency during performance.

Dance - Hopi

Primarily a male activity, Hopi dance is considered to be part of the work in which all males must participate to maintain world balance and fulfill the Hopi mission. Dances make the spirit world visible and create a focus for the good thoughts of the nondancers.

Unmarried girls dance with boys and men in semi-sacred dances, such as Buffalo Dances and Butterfly Dances. Except for their special healing societies' dances, and under unusual circumstances, women do not perform in public officially after they are married or have a child. Because Hopi men and women dance as part of their ritual obligations, there is no selection for physical characteristics, temperament, talent, or training. Dancers dance for pious reasons; whether they are fat or thin, crippled, or poorly coordinated is of no consequence. That there are no famous dancers among the Hopis is predictable because they strive to preserve their anonymity.

There is no formal dance training. Dancers learn to dance by copying more experienced dancers, and by receiving advice from leaders of the song group during rehearsal. Song composition precedes the choreography and the dancers must memorize the new songs before learning the choreographic adaptations to a known genre. Whereas several rehearsals are held for the singers, the dangers rehearse but four times before a performance. There is no emphasis on movement precision, but the song leaders call out to the dancers to lift their feet higher, move their hands thus and so, and urge them to dance with spirit and a good heart. Indeed, such instructions are called out during the actual performances, also.

Hopi dancers are impersonal, and have no eye contact with members of the audience. They dance at one level only. Bending slightly forward from the hips, a male dancer's torso is quiet while both legs prance or step in place, or the right foot lifts up and stamps down. The arms, close to the body, flex and extend or gesture with short stabs. Choppy or pulsating short movements are repeated again and again to create long phrases. Girls and women stand upright and do not flex from the hips. Restrained in their movements, their upper arms are held close to their bodies, and their sometimes mincing steps are kept near the ground. Repetitive patterns and complicated rhythms for all dancers include sudden pauses or extra, quick steps. There are two clearly defined tempi that shift from A to B and back again.

Floor patterns are important in Hopi dances. Indeed the floor pattern of a dance is a distinguishing feature of a genre. Katsinas, facing counterclockwise and performing in a single file, are seen most often in profile except during the 180° turns at specified times. The katsinas are led by a ritual leader called the "father of the katsinas" to three stations of the dance plaza where they repeat the same song and dance. Often the extension of katsinas' clothing, masks, and other paraphernalia appear to overlap so that in silhouette they become a coloroful moving mass of mysterious figures. There are no solo Hopi dancers, although occasionally single figures perform special dances off to one side of a large group of katsinas as the "uncles of the katsinas."

Women's societies' dances are performed with the women facing the center of an open circle. The circle's limited counterclockwise locomotion is accomplished by tiny side steps, while special persona in the center of the circle perform actions that differ from those in the outer circle. Of the semisacred dances such as the Buffalo Dance and the Butterfly Dance, some include two parallel lines of dancers, while some feature two couples who perform intricate floor patterns repeated four times, once in each cardinal direction.

Hopi dance and song keep close synchrony. When a drum is used it reflects the rhythms of the song also; the drum does not keep a steady beat as in Plains Indian dances. The rhythms are marked clearly by bells, rattles, or tinklers that are worn or carried by the dancers.

The dancers' makeup and costumes are related to moisture to enhance the message to think about rain. Thus, loosened long hair represents rain, flowing tassels on belts symbolize rain also, feathers are associated with breath and smoke, all of which are signatures for clouds. Body paint is in colors of the cardinal directions. The costumes stylistically depict the figures that are represented by the dancers, so that, for example, katsinas are dressed as katsinas, and buffalos wear huge headdresses that are made of shaggy hair surmounted by horns. The tangible visual images combine with the "mind's eye" pictures of the texts to create an ideographic metaphor that invites the audience to meditate on happy thoughts to attract moisture-bearing clouds.

Hopi dancers impersonate, even become psychically transformed to, the beings who are represented by their dancing. Unlike Hawaiian performances, Hopi performances are representational rather than presentational.

Performances Compared—Hawaii and Hopi

Hawaiian and Hopi music/dance events serve functions that were, and are, magical, political, entertainment, and aesthetic, but their manifestations contrast sharply. Hawaiian hula performances occur at special occasions with several separate works arranged as a program, or interspersed as part of a larger celebration. In contrast, Hopi music/dance events are determined by the ritual calendar, and their performances orchestrate numerous simple units to create a complicated single work.

Hawaiian affective space is a special area that features performers and audience as two separate groups. Hopi affective space is a sacred center such as a plaza or special ritual building (kiva) that contains another center, the symbol of the earth navel. Properly speaking, there is no human audience for Hopi performances, because nonperformers are considered to be psychogenic participants.

Hawaiian performers are perceived as using separate, individual, personal space. Their exterior use of space is expansive with curvilinear and elaborated gestures. Hula performers focus on important individuals in the audience. Hopi performers are perceived as a collective whole. Their bodies and costumes appear as antithesis to individuality. Their gestures are discrete, however. Simple and direct, they are repeated over and over. Many gestures used by Hopi dancers and singers are the movement equivalent to vocables.

Hawaiian performance style is extraverted; reflecting the emotions of the text, their performance energies vary as relaxed, driving, fierce, playful, languid, intense, restless, or insistent. Hopi performance style is introverted, and their performance energy is conservative and restrained.

After a performance, Hawaiian performers ask themselves, "Did I perform well? Did I interpret the words correctly? What did the audience think of my performance?" After a performance, Hopi performers ask themselves, "Was my heart good? Did I become a conduit for the spirits? Will our performance bring rain?"

Contemporary Hawaiian audience members note the correctness of the words--how the chanter utters them and how the dancers interpret them. They observe the grace and talent of each performer, the choreographic innovations that are both acceptable and fascinating enough to prevent boredom, and they express appreciation with applause, comments, and cheers. A music/dance performance contributes to Hawaiian social solidarity by unleashing positive energy, establishing personal value, honoring important persons, places, and events, and reinforcing Hawaiian identity.

Hopi nonperformers are active participants by their good thoughts and positive energy. The observe but do not comment publicly about the visual details of the costumes and how "nice" the song is. They remember the beauty of the group effect, especially the perfection of timing for both tempo and the relationship of start to finish within a single day or night. They are sensitive to responses of nonhuman phenomena that foretell the long-range success of the performance. For example, the appearances of clouds and rain are positive, but the appearances of dust devils and unnatural temperatures are negative. A music/dance performance contributes to Hopi social solidarity by reaffirming the presence and contribution of each clan and ritual, reinforcing correct thoughts and behavior patterns, strengthening the community by incorporating everyone in the performance, and especially by reminding all Hopis about their mission in this world.

Hawaiian emphasis on the individual allows for affective self-expression with an opportunity for talented musicians and dancers to pursue dance and music as a career. Hopi emphasis on the group denies affective self-expression in music/dance performances with no opportunity for the individual to pursue music or dance beyond the ritual context.

In the Hawaiian home children are encouraged to sing and dance. The members of the extended family are quick to give verbal praise and suggestions. Even toddlers are urged to "get up and hula, baby." There is nothing comparable in the Hopi home. Very young Hopi children do, in fact, emulate dancers as part of their play, but they do not perform for adults and no special attention is drawn to those children.

Historical Responses

We have discussed the contrasting world views of the Hawaiians and Hopis, and compared their music and dance. Some of the salient facts of history give insights as to why Hawaiians developed performances as contemporary arts, and Hopis developed painting and crafts as contemporary arts, instead.

Hawai'i

About 165 years ago when Hawai'i's tabu system became oppressive, Hawai'i experienced "culture fatigue." Contacts from the outside reinforced this and caused some Hawaiians to question their tabus. After deliberate violations of some of the tabus with no disastrous supernatural sanctions, the tabu system began to crumble. The political structure was undermined and Hawaiians were ripe for the plucking when Protestant missionaries and their families arrived. The Hawaiian aristocracy perceived that an alliance with missionaries was a means to regain political power, and to accomplish this they implemented drastic and rapid changes. The Hawaiian people seemed to be ready to get out from under their dependence upon the rules that were modified constantly by the priests, and they seemed open to the new order. Although the religious and social systems were damaged badly, the general world view remained intact, however, that included the great value placed on the aural aspects of the society. They were enthusiastic about European hymns that were taught by the missionaries, and reset much of their poetry to European-style melodies.

Curiously, when traditional Hawaiian music and dance were deplored as contrary to Christian civilization, they maintained continuity by going underground. In contrast, woodcarvers did not continue to carve religious images in secret. That they did not is instructive. Long years passed with little visible evidence of hula's existence, but when it became feasible to perform hula in public once again, and when patronage was resumed, there were music and dance masters to instruct others.

After Hawai'i was annexed to the United States, the favorable climate and exotic atmosphere began to attact tourists. Hawaiians' emphasis on hospitality made outsiders feel welcome, and, in turn, tourists augmented the island economy. To underscore the island ambience Hawaiian music and dance were promoted as tourist attractions. As the old reasons for music and dance were viable no longer, and the newest order promoted music and dance, increasing numbers of Hawaiian performers were attracted to "show business." They were rewarded both economically and emotionally. Today Hawaiian music and dance are experiencing a "renaissance" and are patronized and participated in by persons who identify with "Hawaiianess" but who are only sometimes Hawaiian genetically.

Hopi

As opposed to the Hawaiian social system, the Hopi system was not burdensome. Social control was maintained by the monitoring of one another within their small villages. Serious disagreements resulted in political factions, and when factionalism became irreconcilable, one faction would break away to found a new village. Nevertheless, their devotion to the Hopi way was indisputable.

Two facts contributed to the enduring viability of Hopi music and dance. The first missionaries who arrived were Catholic priests who did not come with families to settle, and they were not incorporated into village life. Those priests were executed by the Hopis during the Pueblo revolt of 1680, and Catholicism has never been successfully reestablished on the Hopi mesas.

Second, their out-of-the-way, forbidding mesa tops did not invite an influx of outsiders, and the Hopis never encouraged tourists to stay beyond a few hours. Although the Hopis have always welcomed outsiders to visit the public conclusions of their ceremonies, they are secretive about the meanings of their music and dance. Audiences are controlled strictly at the Hopi mesas. Certainly the Hopis never opened their music and dance to non-Hopi participants except under extraordinary circumstances.

Unlike the Hawaiians who became a minority in their own land, the Hopis have retained their majority with cultural and ethnic autonomy. They have rejected whatever seemed culturally dissonant. Even to this day, only those Christian religions that accommodate the Hopi way and mission are acceptable to most Hopis. The traditional rationale for Hopi music and dance remains intact. However, as the Hopis accepted the idea of a credit and money economy, they sought ways to use their skills for income.

Contemporary Hawaiian and Hopi Music and Dance

Hawaii

The discontinuity of traditional reasons and functions for their music and dance did not destroy Hawaiians' love for poetry, music, and dance, or the tradition of highlighting outstanding individuals, or their emphasis on affective creativity. These persistent foci led to revisionism, westernization, and finally, revitalization of Hawaiian music and dance. They adapted European string instruments to become the ukulele and the Hawaiian guitar, and they invented a new technique for playing those stringed instruments called "slack key." They perform as entertainers and artists for nearly all affective events held in Hawai'i.

A significant event occurred when King Kalākaua (b. 1836, d. 1891), who was a scholar and a musician, promoted a revival of the hula for his official coronation ceremonies in 1883. This event, alluded to earlier, established once and for all that the hula would survive and flouish despite the numerous social changes that had affected Hawaiian culture. Clearly this event demonstrates that cultures are not games of dominoes in which the toppling of one aspect of a culture causes the collapse of the whole. The hula could survive because many of the traditional values were intact, and because it was adaptive to new institutions for performance purposes. The significance of Kalākaua's revitalization of the hula is commemorated today by an annual hula competition. Called "The Merry Monarch Festival," this competition encourages performers of hula to strive for new viability of the hula through both creative and re-creative endeavors. Huge crowds attend the competition with the enthusiasm of fans at a major sports event at one of the large stadiums on the mainland of the United States.

Although there are countless numbers of hula musicians and dancers who perform Hawaiian or neo-Hawaiian music, there are but a handful of painters and craftpersons who have developed their skills as fine arts. As an example of the popularity of music in Hawai'i, there is a radio station in Honolulu that for 18 years has played Hawaiian music exclusively. In 1981, I listened to this station for 3 months during a contest to discover the top 150 Hawaiian music favorites! Of those 150 favorites, the majority are about love affairs --as often about love affairs with the land or some special feature of the Hawaiian Islands as for a person. Even love songs may as likely be to families, friends, children, or special interest groups as to a sweetheart. There are numerous composers, musicians, and dancers who are "stars" and have thousands of ardent admirers. The dancers, who accompany the music, continue to illuminate the music, to amplify the sound through multiple dimensions. Hawaiian music and dance have become an end in themselves.

Hopi

The Hopis are pragmatists as well as idealists. Customs that were not essential to their Hopi way or their mission were supplanted by selective borrowing. The Hopis had a long-established practice of borrowing exotic materials as a demonstration of their sophistication. By the end of the 19th century, most Hopis preferred to use pans, dishes, and other useful items that could be purchased from the trading posts. By the end of the 19th century, also, the manufacture of many Hopi artifacts was in decline. This decline was reversed because of three historic developments.

First, a pottery maker named Nampeyo became inspired by fragments of pottery retrieved from a nearby archeological excavation. She copied those designs with care and when her pottery brought good prices at the trading posts, other women followed suit. Second, the Museum of Northern Arizona established an annual competitive Hopi crafts fair with rigorous criteria for craft entries. That rigor, combined with cash awards and prestige for the tribe, encouraged Hopis to revive old crafts and develop new ones. Finally, after World War II, a Hopi artist, Fred Kabotie, organized several Hopi men for the formation of an arts and crafts guild where they developed the silver overlay jewelry that has become associated with the Hopis. This was the true beginning of vocational specialization among the Hopis, and their specializations, though influenced by cultural motifs, do not infringe on the Hopi mission.

Today the Hopis still perform their music and dances for traditional reasons and functions. They compartmentalize their participation in non-Hopi music and dance, which is the same as popular music and dance anywhere in the United States. On the other hand, many craftspersons are working outside Hopi traditions. They have honed their skills and channeled their creativity to become fine artists. Because there is no need for them to maintain anonymity in nontraditional endeavors, many of the artists have become famous. There are dozens of Hopi painters and jewelers who receive acclaim and command high prices for their work. In addition, perhaps hundreds of parttime katsina doll carvers, pottery and basket makers, and weavers and other textile makers supplement their families' incomes nicely by selling their crafts.

Hopi music and dance continue to be means to an end: to promote the Hopi way and achieve the Hopi mission.

Conclusion

This survey has shown that Hawaiian and Hopi cultures are more viable than might be immediately evident. At the same time the Hawaiians and Hopis participate in the outside world through their skillful and selective adaptation of those aspects of their affective cultures that can be sold and bought. The Hawaiians have finessed music and dance as entertainment and art. Capitalizing on their traditional aural focus, they are eminent in night clubs and concert halls. The Hopis have finessed graphics and crafts as decoration and art. Capitalizing on their traditional visual focus, they are eminent in shops and art galleries.

Notes

[1] For a definitive analysis of the Kumulipo, see Johnson (1981).

[2] Other versions of the hula myth are summarized in Hopkins (1982, pp. 20-23).

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Chapter 3

Music: Thinking Globally, Acting Locally

Robert Garfias

Much of the energy used in the course of our daily lives is in some way or another directed toward communicating with our fellows. We find ourselves talking, writing and signalling each other almost incessantly. We also are engaged in creating and producing for each other and hope that what we consider our best acts will remain in the minds of others. Most of us, most of the time, prefer to talk together, eat together and, if we can manage it, live together. There is little, in fact, that we do entirely by ourselves or exclusively for ourselves.

It is more than likely that ever since something like man first appeared on this planet he has been engaged in some kind of communicative activity, from shouting or singing, to jumping up and down and throwing rocks at each other.

Besides satisfying some inherent need to be reassured that there is always someone around to listen to us, this constant communication has a powerful effect on each of us. In fact, put quite simply, we are affected by it. We begin to think like those who talk to us most, even by some we would prefer to ignore. Even without being conscious of it, we begin to think and talk like those around us, and it is not until we come into contact with someone who has absorbed patterns of thought and speech greatly removed from our own that we become aware of the possible arbitrariness of our thoughts and preferences.

Linguistic patterns, and by natural extension, the patterns of our thoughts, which in turn grow out of those same linguistic patterns, must follow the paths that have already been delineated for them by habit and custom in that culture. The approach we take in analyzing new situations has already been channeled by previous and similar experiences.

In fact, this process really only serves us well if we ensure that our daily experiences present us only with situations that have come about as the result of stimuli similar to those that we have already experienced. Daily life patterns absolutely unbroken by anything unfamiliar are not something any of us ever experience. By and large, however, we expect that our preconditioning prepares us for the variants of familiar patterns we are expected to solve for ourselves each day. There are minor hitches and major upheavals that we all experience. There are also times when all indications suggest that our conditioning and experience are not going to be adequate in providing us with solutions that will resolve the dilemma before us.

The patterns and guidelines offered by our own experiences and those we carry about with us as the collective experience of our culture, serve us best when we are required to deal with the familiar; but since there is something unfamiliar about every new situation, these patterns are incessantly under pressure to change. The particular point that I feel compelled here to stress concerns what occurs when we are faced with communications systems that have developed in cultures remote from our own. Then, even our best attempts at intellectualizing the process and attempting to understand it still throw us back upon the only solutions we have, those drawn from our own cultural background, solutions that may leave us with only an incomplete understanding of what is before us. We fall back on tradition because we have no recourse--we know nothing else.

We quite naturally come to think of the term tradition as synonymous with the idea of an unchanging tradition, yet tradition refers to the continuous process by which information is transmitted rather than to the information transmitted. At each transmission the information being transmitted might be modified. In the early fifteenth century, the English composer John Dunstable came to the continent in the service of the Duke of Bedford. His music apparently had considerable influence on the developing Burgundian school. This Burgundian tradition then continued from Guillaume Dufay, Gilles de Bins dit Binchois, Johannes Ockeghem, Josquin Desprez down through the ages to Franz Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven and on through from teacher to pupil down to a great many music teachers of today and, in fact, to most of our own teachers. Yet we have no idea whatsoever of what Dunstable may have said to Dufay, if he said anything at all, in spite of the fact that the continuous tradition is well documented.

There are other traditions in which it at first appears that this is not the case. The court musicians of Japan can trace their teacher to pupil lineage back to the eighth century and many of them firmly believe that the performance tradition they maintain is essentially the same as it was when it was first formulated in Japan. Yet when some years ago I played recordings that had been made in the 1920's for some of the younger musicians, they had great difficulty accepting the knowledge that these recordings had been made by their own grandfathers and great-grandfathers, so greatly had the style changed in a few years. Despite the most careful efforts the diverse pressures of the times influence transmission.

In our own time and place, the ethnic and cultural diversity of our society is becoming increasingly clear to us, and this complexity is itself increasing at a rapid rate. Although there are various attempts regularly made at the federal, state, and local level to control it, nonetheless it is estimated that in spite of all such attempts the United States will become a de facto bilingual nation within the first quarter of the twenty-first century. There are many communities in southern California where today English already ranks as only the fifth or sixth language spoken. In the traditions of our historical institutions we have always looked to Europe, but increasingly we must now also seriously consider China, Japan, and Latin America whenever we contemplate our future.

Solutions to any aspect of our lives will soon require that we consider situations from more than one cultural perspective if we are to arrive at viable answers. In the sciences and technology, in economics, politics, and communications we have been forced to take a global view. In the arts, we have moved more slowly and much more cautiously. It is rather surprising to consider, for example, that music in most institutions of higher education—ironically, those very institutions that are responsible for the training of music teachers in the schools of our country—is still bound by curricula that are still almost exclusively Western European in focus as well as aesthetic philosophy.

Teachers who have had to take on responsibilities in the schools of the major urban centers of the country as well as quite a few of the rural ones quickly learn that very little of their training is immediately applicable to the situation in which they find themselves. Yet, these same teachers may find that ethnomusicologists are often unable or unwilling to understand their difficulty, or to provide much in the way of tangible assistance short of suggesting that they go back and get a degree in ethnomusicology.

While not really wishing to suggest that I find this attitude defensible, I recently had the opportunity of having the self same accusation leveled at me. Recently the staff of the California State Arts Council invited, as consultants, a group of folklorists and ethnomusicologists, to meet with them to discuss the future of the traditional and folk arts in the state of California. We were unanimous in making the strong suggestion that what the State Arts Council most needed was a state folklorist, trained in folklore or ethnomusicology, in order to best advise on the quality and traditionality of what is going on in the state. We were all pointedly chided by the staff of the State Arts Council for suggesting that only someone trained like ourselves could accomplish this task.

At the crux of the problem in the California situation I just mentioned was the very reasonable belief that any person trained in arts, even only in the European traditions, should be equipped to understand and deal fairly with all the arts regardless of the culture from which they came. While this would not seem to be an unreasonable position to take, in fact, California is now slowly learning what most of the other states had already learned: that special training is required to be an effective state folklorist. Why? While it would be nice to say that it were not the case, and one certainly hopes that it should not long remain so, it certainly is true that, thus far, a traditional training in exclusively the Western European arts, serves to little avail in learning to traverse cultural aesthetic communications systems.

For the moment, a background in ethnomusicology, folklore, or anthropology seems to go a long way toward breaking down cultural preconceptions and barriers, the kind of barriers that prevent the reception of different aesthetic concepts. However, lest it be interpreted that I am suggesting all future music educators first have degrees in anthropology, let me add that it has always been my contention that social anthropology is, first of all, in essence, an attitude, and one based in large measure on common sense. A healthy respect for cultural relativity and the profoundly different effects that the long historical development of any given culture might take is a vital prerequisite to dealing with many of the challenges of our complex lives today. While it might not come instantly of its own accord, I am convinced that there are ways of developing this kind of perception short of seeking training as a social anthropologist.

I would like to give an example of what I mean by first drawing on a non-musical example. Many of us have had the experience of eating in a Japanese restaurant and will remember being served with a neat, new, sanitary pair of wooden—sometimes bamboo—chopsticks, still joined together at one end to show that they could never have been used previously. One evening not long ago, at a Japanese restaurant near my home, I noticed at another table a family in which the father was carefully explaining to his five- or six-year-old son, the correct method for rubbing the chopsticks together in order to remove any possible splinters remaining after the two sticks had been broken apart. The lesson was being given as carefully and precisely as if it had been the first indoctrination into the mysteries of the tea ceremony.

Let us hold this image for a moment and move to a Japanese anecdote. One of the fascinating aspects of Japanese culture is the importance given to executing even the most mundane tasks with a combination of grace and efficiency. This even applies to the etiquette of the table. There was a man who lived some one hundred and fifty years ago in Japan who was known throughout the country as a specialist in the perfect and most effective manner and technique of eating. Once, the story goes, this famous man returned home to enjoy a quiet and simple meal alone. He was served one of those homely Japanese favorites, a dish called cha-zuke, a bowl of rice with pickles of various kinds, over which tea is poured. This is considered such an informal, private, and "at home alone" kind of meal that most Japanese would never dream of serving it to their guests, no matter how informal the circumstances might be.

On the particular evening in question, he sat down to eat alone. Without his knowledge he was secretly observed from an adjoining room by one of his attendants. Although cha-zuke is as liquid as soup, it must be eaten with the aid of chopsticks which are used to guide the food in the bowl to the mouth. The master quickly and quietly finished the meal and then rose and left the room. The attendant went immediately to the table and noticed that only the very tips of the chopsticks were wet, in spite of having just been used to eat an almost entirely liquid meal. This story is told in Japan to illustrate the point that under any circumstances, and whether there is anyone around to observe you or not, only the very point of one's chopsticks should ever touch either the food or one's mouth, even when drinking soup.

The point of these two stories is to attempt an illustration of two culturally defined approaches to a common situation. No one in Japan that I have heard of, would think of rubbing wooden chopsticks together after breaking them apart. The act would suggest an excess of self-concern and would further suggest that the individual doing this was putting on airs by implying that what had been provided for him was inadequate, a most ungracious thing to do. Further, since in the Japanese ideal only the very tip of the chopstick, if even that, should ever come into contact with the mouth, such precautions are unnecessary. Yet, so many times have I seen the American Chopstick Ceremony enacted in Japanese restaurants in this country that I wonder how it got started. Certainly no one from Japan would have ever dreamed of it and, in fact, friends from Japan confide that they find it a little embarrassing to watch Americans go through the process. It would appear to be a genuinely American development--I have no idea if Europeans have also hit upon it--probably occurring because chopsticks are conceptualized as replacements for the fork and spoon and therefore when used like a fork and spoon, might well give off slivers.

The danger in such situations lies not so much in making an error as in being quite convinced that you have not. When this happens it is less likely that your value system must be turned topsy-turvy before it can work in the new context than that the pattern of values is simply configured differently. If the Japanese actually put the chopsticks into their mouths when they ate, they too might be concerned about getting slivers. (Yet, it is interesting that Americans should have thought to formalize this into a kind of exclusive and "correct" behavior when eating in Japanese restaurants.)

When we move from language and material culture to music the level and quantity of potential errors becomes much greater. It would be as inappropriate in listening to Mozart to expect the rhythmic subtlety and complexity one finds in the music of India, as it would be to expect Indian music to provide the formal and harmonic complexity of Mozart. These are examples drawn, however, only from the very obvious differences that are noted on the surface of these musics. The development of each of these musics was based on different principles.

When we speak of differences in the treatment of rhythm, harmony, or form we are talking of the perceived results of hundreds of years of isolated development. We are all very well aware of these broad differences, but when the listener trained only in Western European music is first faced with the prospect of an evening of Indian Classical music he has no other recourse but to concentrate on every note he hears and to attempt to construct a tentative formal template in order to guess where the music may be headed in order to remember it well enough to perceive the outlines of the formal structure of the music. He may listen very hard and gradually become entranced by the beauty of the music and by the clear technical mastery of it which the performance requires, but he will not find that which he was prepared by his past experience to seek.

This does not preclude the possibility that by this means one could come to enjoy Indian music any more than it is true that only those who have learned to concentrate on the unfolding of the formal structure of a Mozart composition can find pleasure in it. Yet if the person who keenly enjoys Mozart is ever to find the path to a similar level of appreciation of Indian music, he will need to learn to modify his way of listening. He must stop listening for the unfolding of formal patterns of development with all their concomitant rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic intricacies and learn enough about the melodic and rhythmic structure of Indian music to listen as though he were an active participant in the performance. Only then do the otherwise seemingly endless variations and permutations begin to take on deeper significance.

When we hear the music of India even for the first time, we cannot fail to be impressed by what we take to be a high degree of musical development, even though we may not be able to fathom exactly what is going on in the performance. We are impressed because even without understanding the complexities of this music, there is enough going on in the performance to indicate that something that parallels our own concepts of complexity in music is taking place. But with some kinds of music the signs do not appear to us as easily.

In listening to Native American music none of the elements we have been prepared to expect appears in any even remotely recognizable form. We may enjoy listening to this music without attempting to order it in our minds. The sound and the general nonmusical associations we have may be enough to permit us to "enter" into the spirit of the music without analyzing it. I believe that it is important to stress that there should be no one best way to listen to music. Furthermore, it is at this point in time impossible to make a clear distinction between the kinds of mental activity taking place when someone is consciously listening and actively analyzing what he is hearing in contrast to passively listening and enjoying the experience.

If there is no right way to listen to music, why should we be concerned? Is it not possible that one could in an ideal situation perceive the entire message of a music without requiring analysis of it?

For me, music represents the most complete, complex, and fully articulated means by which man communicates with his fellows. For too long we have too narrowly defined the parameters by which we attempted to understand and to explain this process. Listening openly and sympathetically to each other's voices should eventually enable us to understand each other's thoughts. In order to expand the general concept of what constitutes music we need to expand and diversify our experiences of it. Our initial and most important task might well be to provide as many and various of these listening experiences to our fellows as we possibly can and to do what we can to provide additional contextual information that might help in intensifying the listening experience while at the same time helping to reduce the frustration and negative reactions that are the natural outcome of expecting structures and techniques that may not be appropriate to that music.

Chapter 4

Traditional Transmission and Transmission of Tradition in Polynesian Dance

Adrienne L. Kaeppler

The anthropological study of dance has become so complex and specialized that publications of the information collected, analyzed, and notated can often be used only by others trained in the anthropological or ethnological study of dance who are also literate in one of the international systems for recording human movement, such as Labanotation or Benesh notation. Seldom can such studies be used by those to whom they would probably be of even more use, that is, people of the society from which the dances are part of their tradition, or non-specialist teachers. Teachers or Tongans confronted with my analysis of Tongan dance as presented in my dissertation (1967) or in its partially published form in Ethnomusicology (1972), would probably find it of little use. Yet the materials contained therein might be useful if they were presented in a less esoteric way. This paper presents a pictorial notation developed for the use of nonspecialist teachers and its application to Polynesian dance. In addition, I want to illustrate this presentation with four other pictorial systems which also attempt to make complex dance systems understandable and useful for the nonspecialist.

Although my focus here will be on the transmission of traditional Polynesian dances with the aid of printed materials, I want to begin with a few words on the traditional oral transmission of these dances in Polynesian contexts yesterday and today. Traditionally in many parts of Polynesia, children learned to dance by watching and mimicking their elders. During dance practices, children were usually in attendance accompanying their parents who took part. This was particularly the case in West Polynesia where there was not a tradition of specialized performers. In Tonga, for example, all the men and women of a village took part in dancing both on a village level and on informal occasions. The children watched, took part on the sidelines, or tried to move like the adults in their own little groups. Children were encouraged and gently corrected from the time they were very young, and on informal occasions might dance with a parent or relative or with other children. In East Polynesia, however, there were specialized dancing groups in Hawai'i, the Marquesas, and in the Society Islands, and here there was formal transmission from teachers to selected students. In Hawai'i for example, students were sometimes taken at birth or when very young and brought up in the sacred dance traditions under kapu (restrictions protection) of the hula gods.

In both East and West Polynesia today, however, children spend much of their time in school, and dance is learned as a classroom activity in and out of school hours. In Tonga each grade school and high school has opportunities for dance learning and all the students take part. Each school has its own example of a dance of a specific genre, usually a mā'ulu'ulu, which was composed specifically for that school. It is often taught during school hours by a specialized teacher, and it is passed on from year to year in essentially the same form. In other more urbanized islands, such as Hawai'i, dance may be taught as part of music classes, physical education classes, or even social studies classes. In addition, there are hula studios which interested students attend after school or on Saturdays on a fee-paying basis. In today's world the emphasis given to dance has declined. Traditionally dance was important as a learning activity in which history, myth, religion, and social action were passed from generation to generation in the oral tradition. Today these subjects are learned primarily from the written word and in other non-dance contexts. My interest here is in how Polynesian dances can be learned in schools, especially in the more urbanized areas such as Hawai'i and in foreign contexts such as the U.S. mainland or other islands.

I begin with the system used by Beth Dean in Three Dances of Oceania (n.d. 1976?). This system is not very successful because, along with her patronizing attitude toward non-Western dance and art generally, she has failed to isolate important movement features or their relationships to text, music, or context. Instead, Dean tries to make a case for viewing and performing Polynesian dance as "description dance." She runs into trouble, however, in that many of the dances do not "describe," and that many of the song texts "are not directly connected with the 'abstract' movements choreographed to them" (Dean, 1976, p. 7). Although the poetic text and the pronunciation of the words are given in great detail, no melodic contours are noted as the vehicle by which these words are sung. Similarly, although we are told how many beats there are in each section and the range of drums used to execute the beats, there is little precise indication of the rhythm through which the beats become sounds. The movements are then keyed to these non-rhythmic beats through a minimum of drawings and separate verbal movement descriptions of various body parts. (See "Taku Manu E", Figure 1.)

The problems here, as I see them, are the complete disregard for the musical and rhythmic rendering of the poetry, the lack of integration between the body movements--which are difficult to visualize at any rate--and the rhythmic time frame within which they should be performed. In addition, the verbal descriptions lack precision and are difficult, if not impossible, to follow if the reader is not already familar with the dance.

A much better pictorial system devised for teaching Polynesian dance—in this case New Zealand Maori—to nonspecialists was published in 1960 by Alan Armstrong and Reupena Ngata in Maori Action Songs. Noting that the actions "are expressly devised to interpret and convey the mood and meaning of the words" (p. 8), the authors then describe and illustrate 47 important movements with full figure drawings. (See "Pa Mai," Figure 2.) These motifs are associated with the stick figures that will subsequently be used to represent these actions in the dances that follow. Each dance presented then sets out: (1) the poetic text in Maori and English; (2) music notation with text, melodic contour, and rhythm; and (3) an integrated score consisting of poetic text and the associated actions in stick figures (along with their numbers

VOCAL:

Line (10) KA̍ RUA KAPANGA̍, TA I̍RIIRI KI̍TE AROA̍RORO
1 and 2and 3 and 4 and 5 and

O TE RA̍NGI̍ . . . . drum
6 and 7 and 8 and 9 and

There is no vocal sound over the bridge beats.

2 beats A

6 beats B

Total:
8 beats

plus
Tympani
drum solo
bridge:
1 beat

TOTAL:
9 beats

DANCE: GIRLS:

A. BODY:

Body leans forward for count '1', remaining (almost) seated on the heels. *1 and*

ARMS:

On count '1' elbows are well pulled out to the sides; hands palms downward, facing the floor, pressed toward each other until heels of hands meet at the beginning of an arc, circling upward as they rise together in a vertical line in front of the body. Palms open outward; elbows straighten a little, as if the dancer will support the sky on the flat of the hands, which are now at right angles to the vertical forearms. Palms open on 'A' of KAPANGA, or counts '2 and'. *2 and*

HEAD:

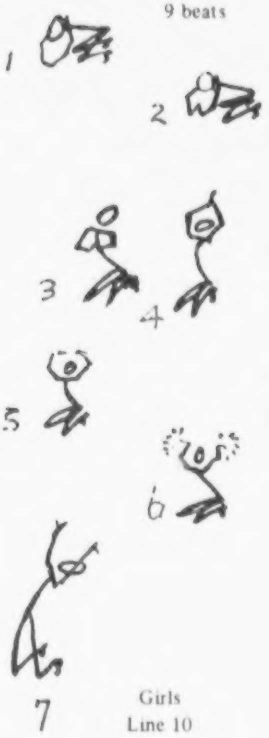
Head looks down and watches the hands as they rise to above the centre of the head.

B. BODY:

On count '3' body remains seated, through to count '7' when the body rises on the sound 'I' of RANGI, to stand tall on knees. *3 and through 7 and*

ARMS:

On count 'and' reverse the palms to face the floor (on the sound TA of TA IRIIRI) and continue alternation up and down to the count '6' (on the sound 'RA' of RANGI), then on RA once more the palms open outward and upward 'supporting the sky' through the counts '7 and 8 and 9 and' as well as the one beat of the drum bridge. *8 and 9 and (drum)*



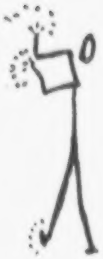
Girls
Line 10

Figure 1. "Taku Manu E," from Three Dances of Oceania, pp. 61-62.

BOYS:

A. BODY:
On counts '1 and 2' the body is erect, with the weight on the left foot. Shoulder slightly turned, to the right.

ARMS:
The arms are held to the right. The right upper arm is held at shoulder height, elbow bent at a right angle; palm in line with forearm, faces the dancer's head. The fingers of both hands flutter, again giving an impression of wings. The left hand is near the right elbow, palm facing downward.

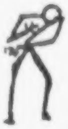


1

HEAD:
Looks at the hands.

FEET:
Are apart.

The pose is like that of a New Zealand Maori stance: the **Haere Mai** pattern.



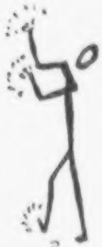
2

B. BODY:
On counts '3 and' the body starts to bend smoothly forward until it is almost horizontal over the left knee by the time the counts '6 and' arrive.

1 and
2 and

3 and
through
6 and

ARMS:
Hands flutter. The arms remain the same but the right hand comes close beside the right ear on count '3'. It remains there as it taps front and downwards. The movement is made 8 times – alternating down and up; i.e. four times as the body goes downward; four times as it rises.



3

Boys
Line 10

HEAD:
Looks down at the earth for four beats of the descent and four beats on the rise, when it looks straight forward.

FEET:
The right foot keeps time, rhythmically beating the ground by raising and lowering the ball of the foot whilst the heel remains touching the ground.

BODY/ARMS/HEAD/FEET:
For counts '7 thru 9 and' the body, arm position and head all remain stationary. Only the foot keeps the rhythm of the beat, and the knees give just a little, bending slightly to the rhythm.

7 and
8 and
9 and
(drum)

Figure 1 (continued)

from previously presented inventory) and sometimes a notated musical line in order to indicate the rhythmic rendering of the actions.

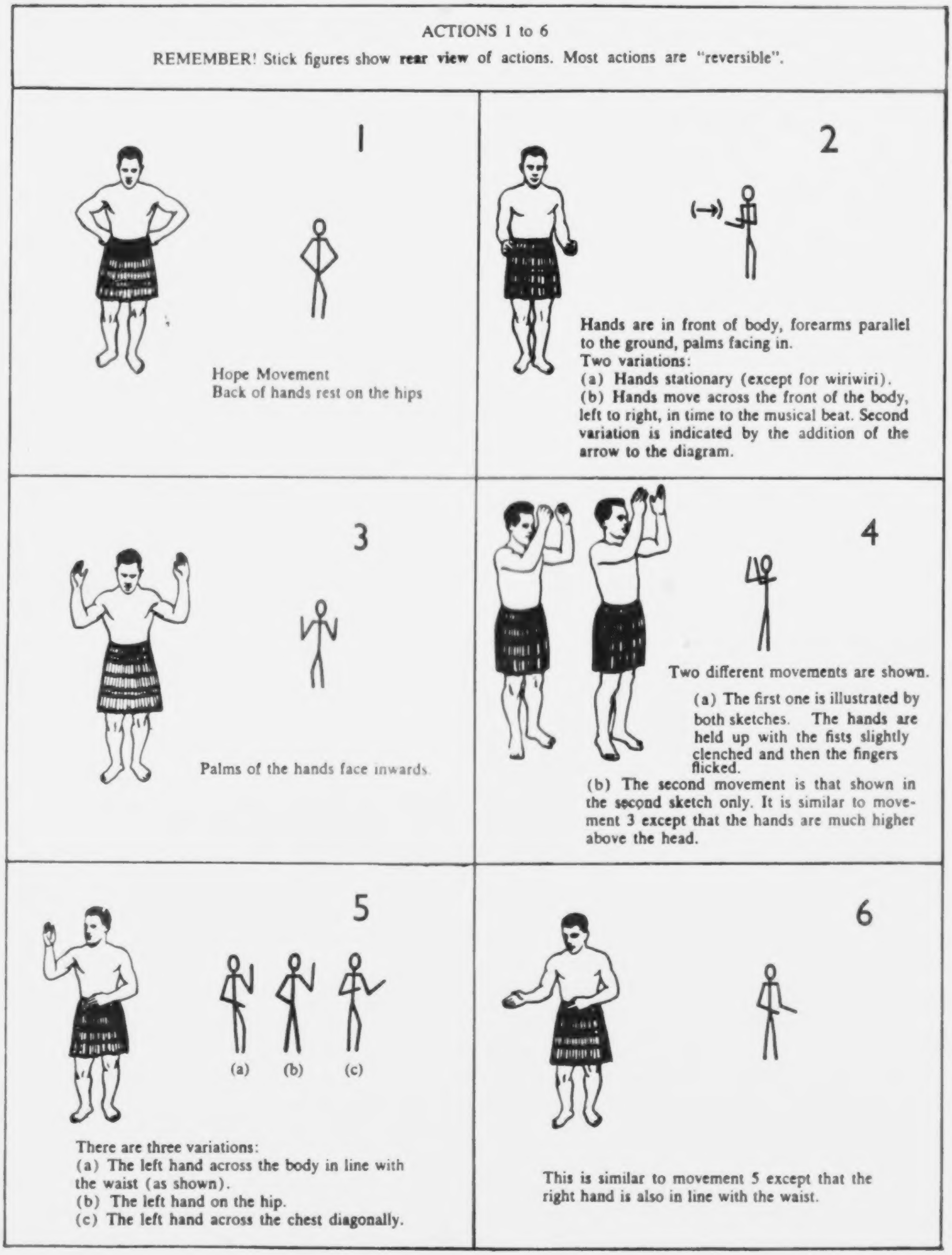
This system works quite well, especially as Maori action songs have a rather limited movement vocabulary. The shortcoming here, as I see it, is the lack of a complete integrated score. The dance notation makes it possible to easily visualize the placement of the actions in space, but it does not give enough emphasis to the placement of the actions in time nor does it illustrate sufficiently the continuity of the dance. The minimal verbal description presupposes that the user has mastered the inventory of 47 important movement motifs at the beginning of the book.

A third pictorial notation was presented by Judy Van Zile in 1982 in The Japanese Bon Dance in Hawaii. This system was devised in order to make Japanese Bon dancing understandable to the general public, especially for residents and visitors to Hawai'i. Directions for performing ten dances popular during the summer Bon dance season in Hawai'i are included. The directions include full figure drawings and verbal descriptions in addition to full scores in Labanotation. For some dances, music notation is also included. (See "Tanko Bushi," Figure 3.)

Japanese Bon dance is somewhat less complex than Polynesian dance both in movement and in that words are not inextricably related to the movements. In addition, each dance consists basically of one long dance phrase that is repeated throughout a given piece of music. Van Zile's dance directions are quite successful for the placement of the body in space, especially as she uses precise verbal descriptions based on Laban analysis in addition to the pictorial notation. The directions are less successful in regard to time in that the drawings are not directly related rhythmically to the verbal descriptions. The shortcoming here once again is the lack of an integrated score with pictorial elements, rhythm, and verbal directions associated in such a way to give the reader the possibility of visualizing the continuity of the dance as well as the location of the body in time and space at the same time. All of this, however, is adequately covered in the Labanotation scores.

A fourth system of pictorial notation for the transmission of dance was presented by Dorothy K. Gillett in the 1972 issue of Music Educators Journal on "Music in World Cultures." Gillett's article included dance directions for a seated Hawaiian dance. The directions included the poetic text in Hawaiian and English, musical notation, full figure drawings, and verbal directions. (See "Nani Ke Ao Nei," Figure 4.)

The directions and the whole presentations are so clear that with only little study it is possible to perform this dance. Gillett, a musician, has overcome the problems of the three preceding systems in that she has presented an integrated score that makes it possible to visualize the placement of the dancer's body in time as well as space. Although the musical contour is not included with the score, the rhythmic time dimension is still perfectly clear because the dance is based on the striking of rhythm sticks (kā lā'au). The continuity of the dance is also perfectly clear. The dance presented is very simple to understand and perform and is an especially good example to illustrate the integral association of music and dance in Polynesia. This self-accompanied dance illustrates how Polynesian performers must often be singers, musicians, and dancers simultaneously as well as separately.



ACTIONS 1 to 6

REMEMBER! Stick figures show **rear view** of actions. Most actions are "reversible".

1

Hope Movement
Back of hands rest on the hips

2

Hands are in front of body, forearms parallel to the ground, palms facing in.
Two variations:
(a) Hands stationary (except for wiriwiri).
(b) Hands move across the front of the body, left to right, in time to the musical beat. Second variation is indicated by the addition of the arrow to the diagram.

3

Palms of the hands face inwards.

4

Two different movements are shown.

(a) The first one is illustrated by both sketches. The hands are held up with the fists slightly clenched and then the fingers flicked.

(b) The second movement is that shown in the second sketch only. It is similar to movement 3 except that the hands are much higher above the head.

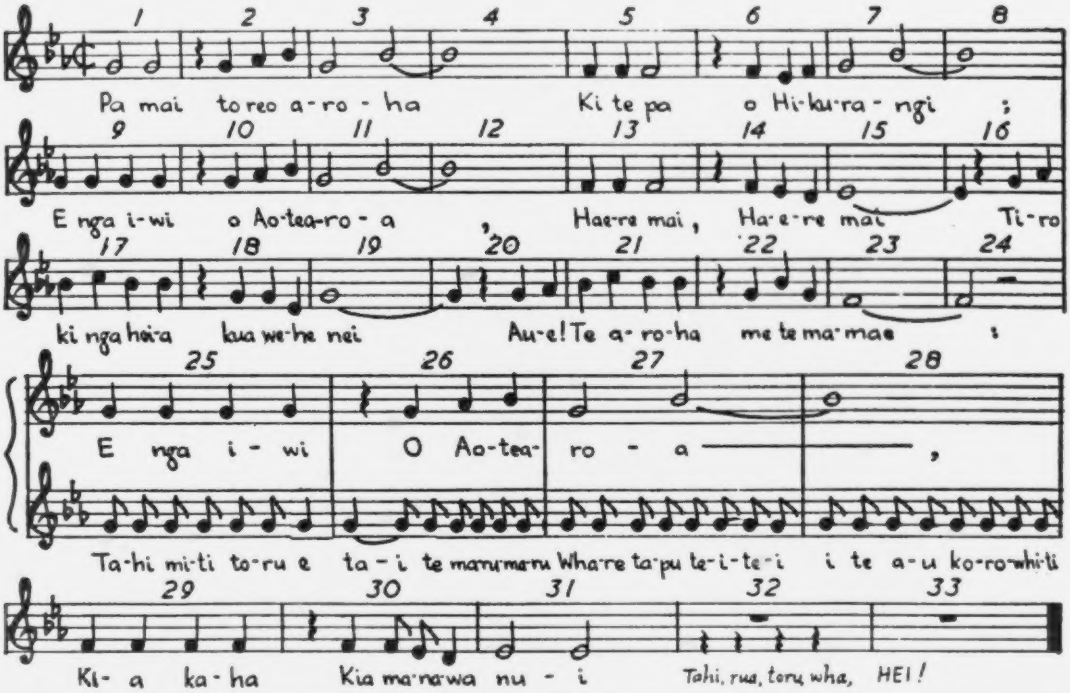
5

There are three variations:
(a) The left hand across the body in line with the waist (as shown).
(b) The left hand on the hip.
(c) The left hand across the chest diagonally.

6

This is similar to movement 5 except that the right hand is also in line with the waist.

Figure 2. "Pa Mai," from Maori Action Songs, p. 11 and 76.


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Pa mai to reo a-ro-ha Ki te pa o Hi-ku-ra-ngi ;
9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
E nga i-wi o Ao-tea-ro-a , Hae-re mai, Ha-e-re mai Ti-ro
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
ki nga hei-a kua we-he nei Au-e! Te a-ro-ha me te ma-mae :
25 26 27 28
E nga i - wi O Ao-tea- ro - a ,
Ta-hi mi-ti to-ru e ta-i te maru-maru Wha-re ta-pu te-i-te-i i te a-u ko-ro-whi-ti
29 30 31 32 33
Ki- a ka-ha Kia ma-nawa nu - i Tahi, rua, toru, wha, HEI!

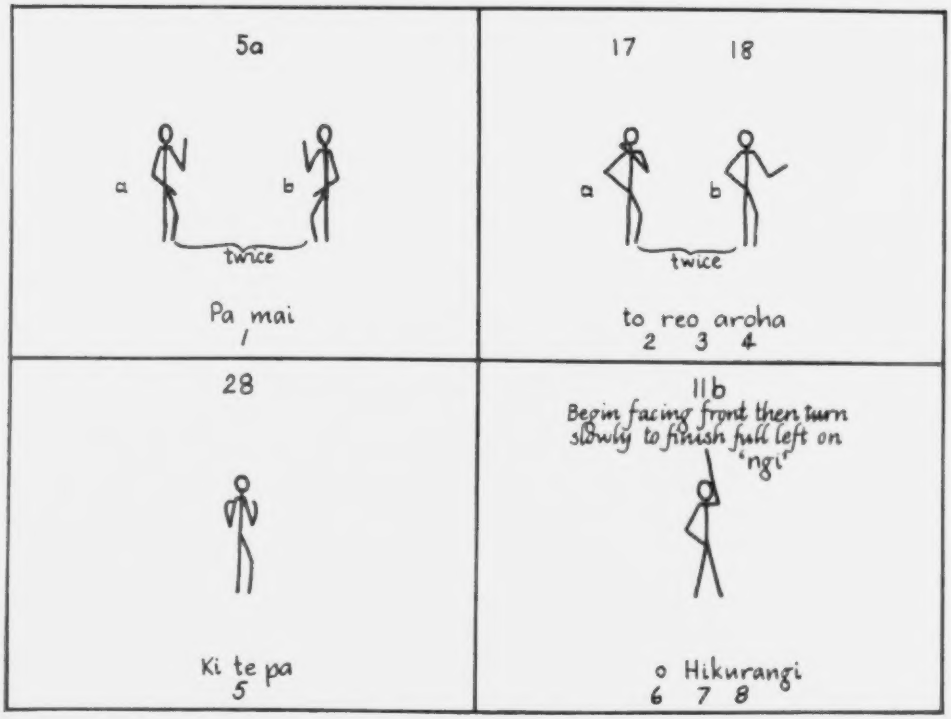
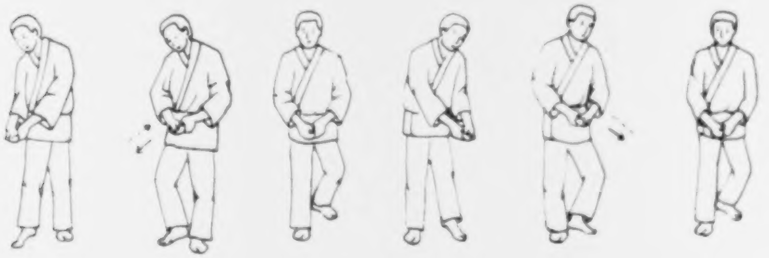

5a
a
b
twice
Pa mai
1
17
18
a
b
twice
to reo aroha
2 3 4
28
Ki te pa
5
11b
Begin facing front then turn slowly to finish full left on 'ngi'
o Hikurangi
6 7 8

Figure 2 (continued)

Tanko Bushi seems to be a favorite at almost all bon dances. Its movements pantomime activities related to coal mining.

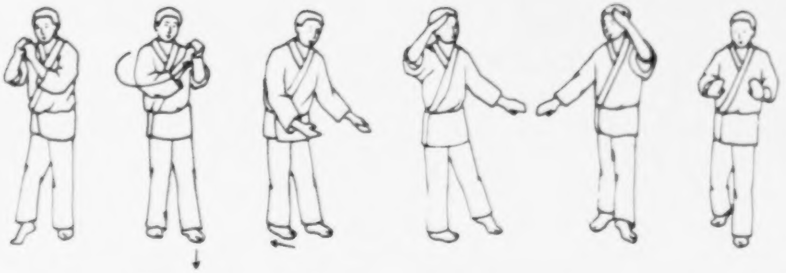
There are many variations of this dance, with differences ranging from whether the dancers progress clockwise or counterclockwise to slight modifications in the stepping pattern. The original choreographer of this dance is unknown. The version documented here is that seen most often in the summer of 1978. It is danced to a commercial recording: Victor of Japan, MV-1(JES-1041). M. M. ♩ = 118.



Begin facing counterclockwise around circle (left shoulder to center of circle).

Counts	Movement
1	Touch ball of right foot to forward right diagonal. Hold hands as if grasping a shovel. Both extend to forward right diagonal low, as if digging. Tilt torso slightly towards hands.
2-4	Bend both legs a little, lifting right leg. Bend both arms in towards body. Repeat toe touch and digging motion. Then step on right to right forward diagonal with knee slightly bent. Both arms go to forward low, slightly bent. Return torso to upright position.
5-8	Repeat counts 1-4 to opposite side.
9	Touch right toe forward. Both arms bend a great deal with hands near right shoulder, as if

Figure 3. "Tanko Bushi" from The Japanese Bon Dance in Hawaii, pp. 52-53



throwing coal over shoulder. Turn torso slightly to right.

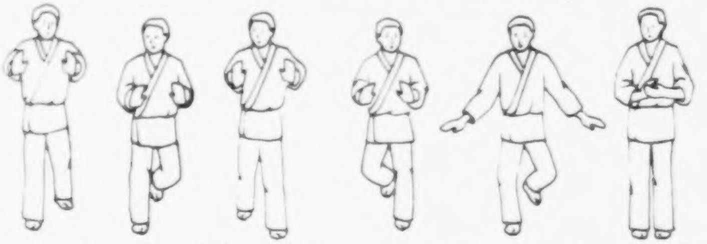
10-11 Step forward on right and then left. Shift arms to left shoulder and turn torso slightly to left.

12 Step back on right and pivot counterclockwise, face slightly away from center of circle. Both arms extend forward low.

13 Touch left toe to left side. Left arm extends to left side low, palm facing back. Right hand is near forehead–as if shielding eyes from sun or wiping perspiration from the brow. At the last moment pivot quickly clockwise on right foot so right shoulder is to center of circle.

14-15 Step back on left and then right, turning torso slightly to right. Take right arm out to side and left to forehead (opposite of count 13).

16 Step forward on left, turning torso back to normal. Both arms go forward low, bent so they are fairly close to body. Hands point up and palms face forward.



17 Step forward on right, leaving the left toe touching ground. Stretch arms forward as if pushing a coal cart.

18 Bend right knee. Lift left and bend it slightly. Bend both arms and pull them in close to the body.

19-20 Repeat counts 17-18, stepping on left foot.

21 Step forward on right with knee bent. Right arm extends to forward right diagonal low, left to forward left diagonal, both palms facing down.

22-23 Step back on left. Close right to left and take both arms forward low, slightly bent, as they clap.

24 Hold.

25-27 Clap three times (once on each beat).

28 Hold.

Figure 3 (continued)

KĀHEA (Call): "Ho'omakaukau!" (Get ready! Dancers pick up sticks, which each has placed on the floor in front of himself.)

"Ae, Iluna La ILUNA"
"Pa!" (Begin. Literally, "strike.")

(The drawings show the dancer's position from either the front or side, depending on which angle is clearer. The dancer's legs do not move from side to side during the dance. The letter R or L next to the drawings indicates which stick should be on top during striking.)

KI'I PA: These gestures are the introduction, the interludes between verses and the closing movements.

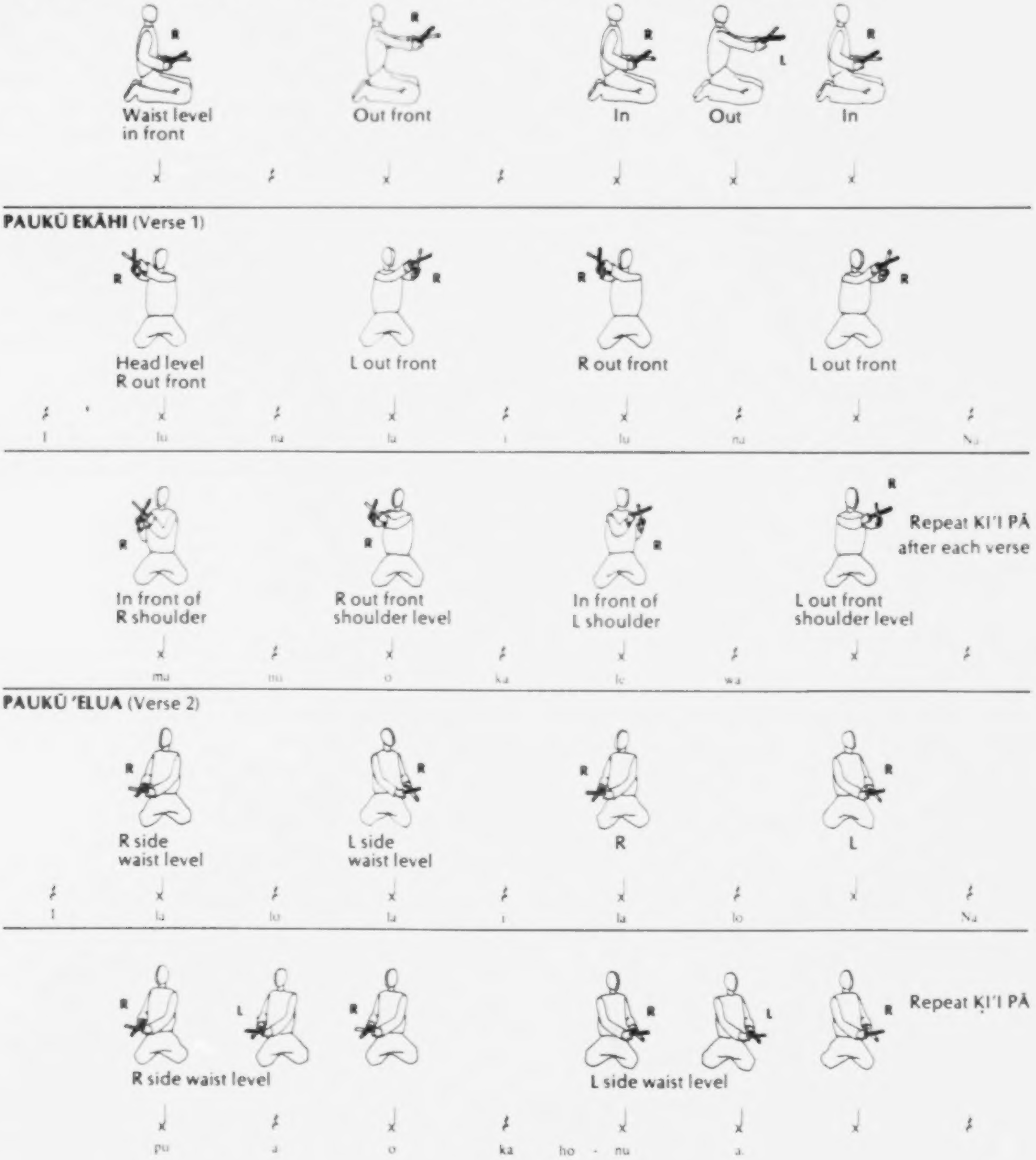
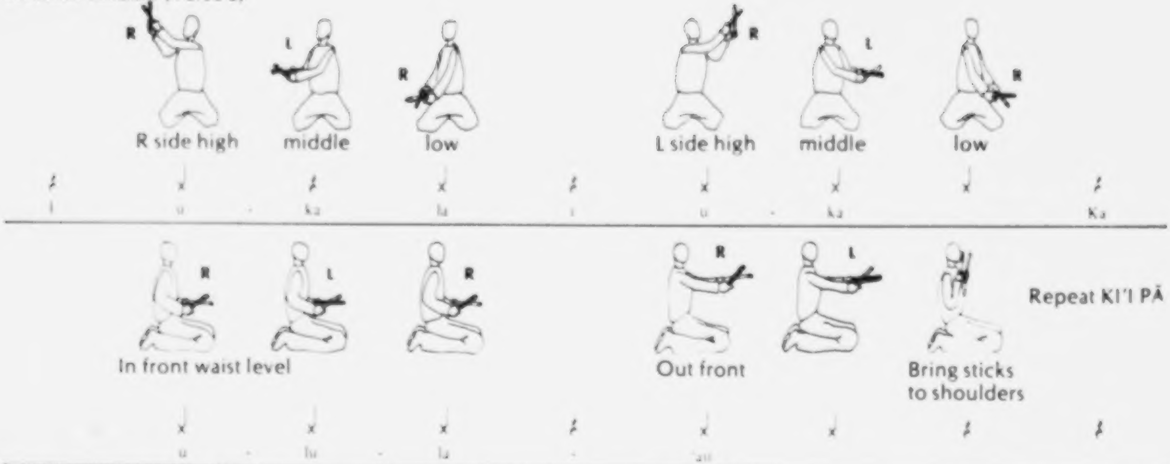
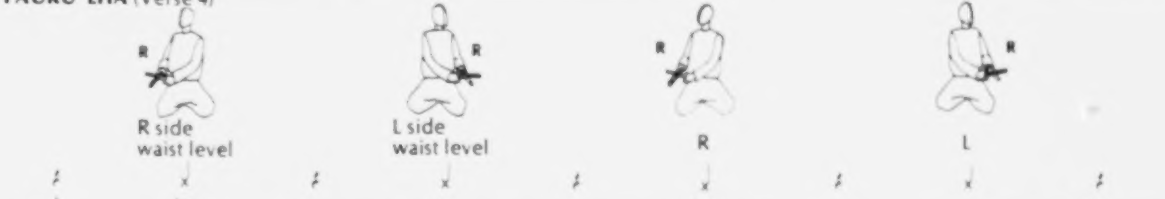

R
Waist level in front
R
Out front
R
In
L
Out
R
In
PAUKŪ EKĀHI (Verse 1)
R
Head level R out front
R
L out front
R
R out front
R
L out front
I
lu
na
la
i
lu
na
Na
R
In front of R shoulder
R
R out front shoulder level
R
In front of L shoulder
R
L out front shoulder level
Repeat KI'I PĀ after each verse
ma
nu
o
ka
le
wa
PAUKŪ 'ELUA (Verse 2)
R
R side waist level
R
L side waist level
R
R
R
L
I
la
lo
la
i
la
lo
Na
R
L
R
R side waist level
R
L
R
L side waist level
Repeat KI'I PĀ
pu
a
o
ka
ho - nu
a

Figure 4. "Nani Ke Ao Nei," Hula Kālā'au, chart and choreography by Mary K. Puku'i, from Music Educators Journal, October 1972, p. 76

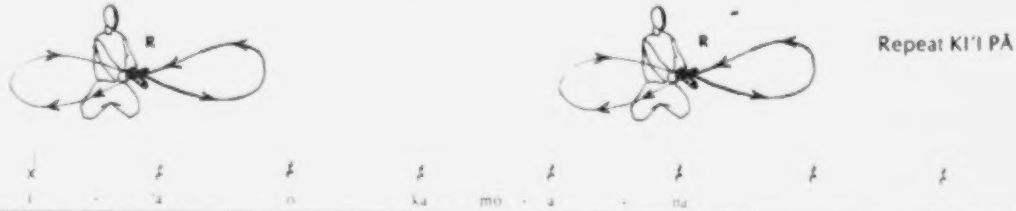
PAUKŪ 'EKOLU (Verse 3)


R
L
R
R side high
middle
low
R
L
R
L side high
middle
low
I
u - ka
la
i
u - ka
Ka
R
L
R
R
L
In front waist level
Out front
Bring sticks
to shoulders
Repeat KI'I PĀ
u - lu - la - 'au

PAUKŪ 'EHA (Verse 4)


R
R
R
R
R side
waist level
L side
waist level
R
L
I
kai
la
i
kai
Na

The following figures are to be performed as a continuous series of swings, L to R; R to L; L to R—R to L—L to R. Sticks are not struck but held in crossed position throughout. The movement represents fish swimming.


R
R
Repeat KI'I PĀ
i - 'a
o
ka
mo - a - na

PAUKŪ 'ELIMA (Verse 5)

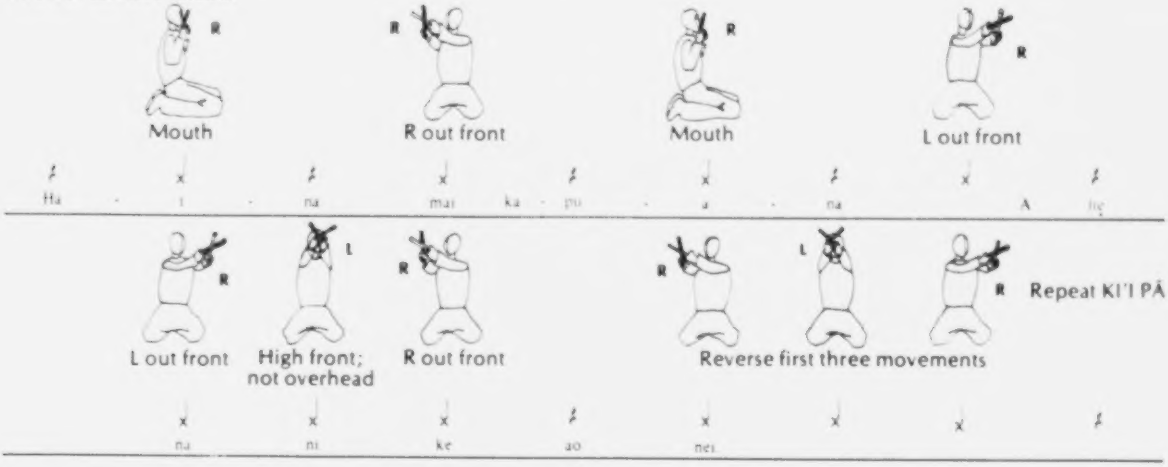
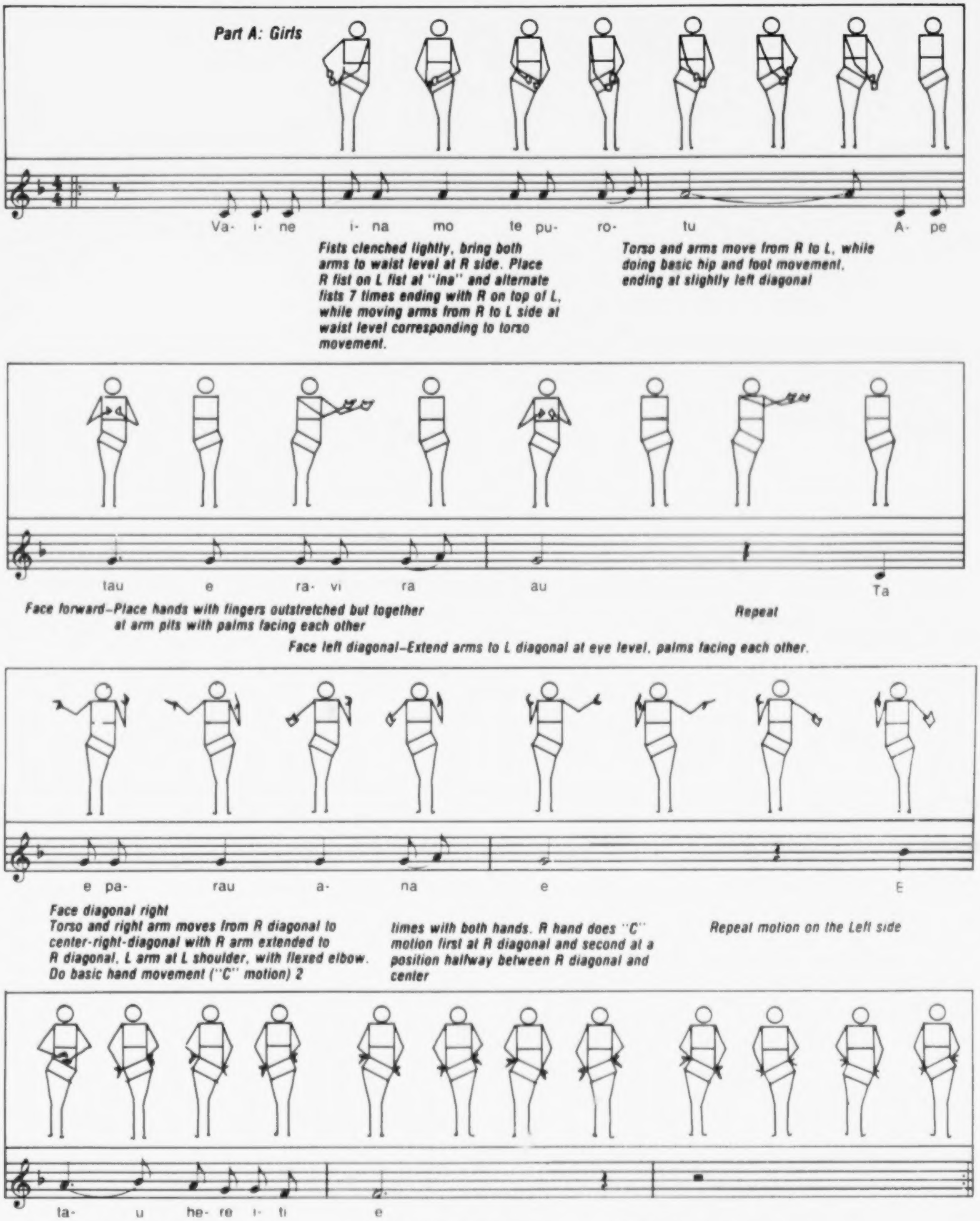

R
R
R
R
Mouth
R out front
Mouth
L out front
Ha - i - na
mai
ka - pu - a - na
A
ne
R
L
R
R
L
R
Repeat KI'I PĀ
L out front
High front;
not overhead
R out front
Reverse first three movements
na
ni
ke
ao
nei

Figure 4 (continued)

In a recent effort, I, too, have tried to make my dance research available beyond academia, specifically for use in the schools of Hawai'i. The resulting book, Polynesian Dance, with a Selection for Contemporary Performances, includes eight dances from five Polynesian areas—the movement motifs of which are not necessarily transferable from one dance to another. In Polynesia the poetic text is basic to the dance, and the melodic contour (which in some areas may be harmonized) is the vehicle for rendering it. Bodily movement is an additional dimension which seeks to enhance the words of the song either by alluding to selected words or by decorating them. Each dance presented sets out: (1) the poetic text in the Polynesian language and English; (2) the music notation with text, melodic contour, and rhythm; (3) a "remarks" section which includes basic movements used in the dance pattern, position, and other choreographic notes; and (4) a fully integrated score that in addition to text and music, includes verbal descriptions and a pictorial movement notation. The modified stick-figures used in the pictorial notation are adapted from Laban analysis for the movements of the trunk and its parts (Preston-Dunlop, 1969, p. 121) in order to deal more adequately with Polynesian hip movements. The scores were conceived to assure that the reader would be able to follow the placement of the body in space and time and to retain a feeling of flow and continuity. I am hoping to add a supplement to the book that will render the dances into Labanotation. (See "Vaine Ina Mo Te Purotu," Figure 5.)

My reason for preparing this book was due to my interest in teaching Hawaiian and other Polynesian dances or about these dances in Hawaian schools. Social studies, music, and physical education classes all join hands each year for May Day (Lei Day) programs, and teachers expressed a need for this kind of integration. I also wanted to make my research available in a useful way to the countries of origin.

Although I hope that it will be possible to reconstruct the dances through the system devised, I suspect that a more important use of the pictorial system and the integrated scores will be by Polynesian dance students, teachers, and choreographers as a mnemonic system for those already familiar with the dance traditions. With minimal alteration, Polynesian choreographers should have little difficulty in recording their own dances in association with rhythmic pattern--even if they cannot notate a full musical score. The system was not conceived to be a substitute for such international dance notation systems as Labanotation or Benesh, nor was it conceived to teach a new dance tradition to outsiders entirely unfamiliar with the tradition. This will be possible, however, when the dances are rendered in Labanotation. The present pictorial notation should be successful for teaching new dances to individuals already familiar with the traditions and may also be useful for recording movement by ethnomusicologists who are nonliterate in other forms of dance notation.



Fists clenched lightly, bring both arms to waist level at R side. Place R fist on L fist at "ina" and alternate fists 7 times ending with R on top of L, while moving arms from R to L side at waist level corresponding to torso movement.

Torso and arms move from R to L, while doing basic hip and foot movement, ending at slightly left diagonal

Face forward–Place hands with fingers outstretched but together at arm pits with palms facing each other

Repeat

Face left diagonal–Extend arms to L diagonal at eye level, palms facing each other.

Face diagonal right
Torso and right arm moves from R diagonal to center-right-diagonal with R arm extended to R diagonal, L arm at L shoulder, with flexed elbow. Do basic hand movement ("C" motion) 2 times with both hands. R hand does "C" motion first at R diagonal and second at a position halfway between R diagonal and center

Repeat motion on the Left side

Face forward, circle right hand around left at waist level, by bringing R hand under and around L hand at front-center away from body and cross-clap with cupped hands once (quickly so that clap is on "tau"); immediately after clap place hands on hips.

While performing basic hip and foot movement, move torso and hips in figure-eight, moving from center to left, to center, to right: Rest knuckles on hip bones while doing movement (i.e. from center turn left-diagonal, back to center, right-diagonal, back to center.)

Figure 5. "Vaine Ina mo Te Purotu," from Polynesian Dance with a Selection for Contemporary Performances, pp. 76-77

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Chapter 5

Versus Gradus Novos Ad Parnassum Musicum: Exemplum Africanum

John Blacking

This chapter is not about *what* should be learned, but *how* music making could be better learned in a modern industrial society. I shall not argue that African compositions, or the songs of Venda-speaking people in particular, should be taught in schools in the United States, though a good case could be made for their inclusion. I hope to show that the ways in which Venda people learned to make music reinforce some good ideas about music education, and that they suggest some new directions for the future, even in societies with very different modes of production.

Several features of the Venda music education system have already been adopted by progressive teachers and in syllabi in Europe and North America. But the system as a whole has not been tried--and indeed it probably would not work in a modern industrial society without major adaptations. It is fairly typical of the principles and systems of musical practice that I found in other parts of central and southern Africa where economic and political organization were based on public ownership of land and resources, combined with legal recognition of individual and family rights to use and usufruct.

The Venda system of learning music made use of the kind of holistic, autogenic training advocated by Johannes Schultz, in which the aim is to harmonize "all the forces of mind and body so the body can perform at its best" (Ostrander & Schroeder, 1981, p. 14). Venda children had little difficulty in memorizing music, stories, and songs because they learned in the relaxed and suggestive ways advocated, for example, by Georgi Lozanov of Sofia, or in the kind of social environment recommended by the Suzuki method. If you accept the Russian evidence on "sleep learning," then Venda children's musical memories may have been enhanced by the fact that they were constantly falling asleep while listening to music--not so much because their mothers and nursemaids sang lullabies, but because they were taken to performances of *adult music*.

Venda music education differed significantly from those theories of music education that stress creativity in the classroom. In Venda, creativity was not emphasized so much as ritual and the perfection of musical skills. Although mature inventors, improvisers, and composers were generally held in the highest regard, children had to learn the system and excel in performance practice that was handed down before they could express their own ideas freely.

The point was that creativity was regarded as a perfectly normal human attribute. The aim of musical performance was to experience the spiritual foundations of the cosmos and the common humanity of every individual through the practice of music and dance. And since these arts were handed over to humans on earth by the ancestor spirits, young people had to learn their secrets before embarking on personal innovations.

I think that the Venda were right, and some "progressive" music education is wrong. Too much laissez-faire and do-it-yourself teaching can deprive children of transcendental musical experiences, of the altered states of consciousness that satisfy and encourage them to pursue music almost as an obsession.

The Conceptual Framework of Venda Music Education

In Venda, music making was often a corporate, communal activity in which most people shared; but individual composers and performers were recognized and admired, and people's outlook was professional insofar as they worked hard to improve their skills and achieve excellence. Moreover, although music making enabled people to express group identities and to experience social solidarity, its ultimate aim was to help them to pass beyond restricted worlds of culturally defined reality, and to develop their creative imagination. Until the spread of white domination in South Africa, Venda was one of many societies where people freely borrowed, adopted, and adapted songs, dances, ideas, and customs from others without anxiety about their cultural "purity" or resorting to the kind of cultural chauvinism that has been promoted by the white South African government's policy of separate, multicultural education.

The transcendental, supracultural aims of Venda music and dance were most dramatically realized in the sacred tshikona dance and the dance of possession called ngoma dza midzimu (literally drums of the ancestor spirits). A performance of tshikona involved the largest number of people, and its music incorporated the largest number of tones in any single piece of Venda communal music. It was the sacred rite of political communities, a communion of the living and their ancestor-spirits, who were custodians of the land, fertility, and wealth of Venda. Because it embodied both spiritual and temporal powers, it had a significance that extended far beyond the interests of the local groups who actually sponsored and performed it (Blacking, 1973, pp. 50-51). The only occasions on which it could become an expression of a restricted ethnic identity were when it was played in urban areas and compared with the music of other South African "ethnic groups" (Blacking, 1983, p. 59).

Ngoma dza midzimu was more restricted than tshikona in its influence on people's experience of the cosmos, but it could also be more intense for those individual members of the cult groups who were "taken" by the spirit of a particular lineal ancestor. The music and dancing enabled a cult member, provided he or she was dancing in his or her home area, "to attain a somatic state in which he or she became more than usually conscious of the life-force in the body," and thus came "face to face with his or her other self, the real self of the ancestor spirit" (Blacking, 1983, p. 57).

I have introduced tshikona and ngoma dza midzimu because they are particularly apt illustrations of the psychological and social environment in which Venda children acquired musical skills and, above all, a commitment to music. Although they were essentially for adults (at least until migrant labor removed many men from Venda and tshikona was played increasingly by youths), children were always around at performances (Blacking, 1967, Plate 9B), they sometimes tried dancing or drumming, and there were close structural links between the music of tshikona and that of many children's songs (Blacking, 1967). Thus children were able to share in the intense excitement and even the practice of performance from an early age, and their musical capabilities were developed and their appetite for music whetted.

In traditional Venda society, each individual birth was believed to mark the return of an ancestral spirit in human form, and the death of every "identifiable," fulfilled person marked the birth of a new ancestral spirit. The cycle of existence was not a closed, self-perpetuating system, but an expanding universe created by the fruitful social lives of individual human beings. Self could only be realized through others (Muthu ndi muthu nga vhanwe), but significant others only existed because of developed selves.

Children were therefore considered to be active rather than passive participants in their own development, but their self-actualization called for the exercise of cooperation, kindness, neighborliness, and compassion as well as the acquisition of skills. Nevertheless, music and dance skills were necessary as means of testing theories about self, body, other self, and other persons. Increasing participation in dance and music helped Venda children learn how to think and act, how to feel, and how to relate to people and the world around them.

The ways in which communal music was used reinforced group identity, but the ways in which it was performed offered personal, sensuous satisfaction in return for unselfish behavior. The polyrhythmic and polyphonic principles of musical performance ensured that self-satisfaction could not be gained by self-seeking, but that the best musical results were obtained when all participants combined the maximum of individual skill and fellow-feeling in the realization and elaboration of a basic musical pattern. Pleasing others and pleasing oneself in musical performance were two interrelated aspects of the same activity. Self-actualization included social service, and vice versa. Dance and music-making provided Venda people with experiential evidence of their system of ideas about self and other, their concept of intelligence and of the soul, and the balance that must exist between personal and corporate power.

Music and Dance as Evidence and Affirmation of World View and Social Life

The sensuous impact of the performing arts depends on people's ability to integrate and use different kinds of experience, and the symbolic structures of dance and music are created and interpreted by individuals with the same cognitive equipment as other features of the sociocultural system. The effectiveness of dance and music in Venda children's lives therefore depended on the ways in which they used and made sense of them. Their acquisition of dance and music skills was related to their development of relationships and affect, as well as to their experiences of daily life.

For the first eighteen months of their lives, infants spent much time on their mothers' backs, and then on the backs of siblings and other children. They therefore heard songs and felt rhythmical movements as their mothers and minders sang and danced or played singing games in many different social contexts. After feeding, most mothers held their babies in front of them in face-to-face interaction, singing to them and "dancing" them up and down.

Musical play as social interaction: the importance of polyrhythms. The Venda definition of music was crucial to understanding the significance and effectiveness of Venda music education. It was not the same as the Igbo concept of egwu, which, as in other parts of Africa, incorporated dance, drama, poetry, costume, sculpture, mime and so on, although its distinction between music and nonmusic also emphasized the notion of heightened social experience. The basic distinction of "song" (u imba) from "speech" (u amba) was in its patterned, metrical ordering of words (Blacking, 1973, p. 27 ff.). Often, when an infant started banging with some object, he or she was not told to shut up: an adult or older child would convert the spontaneous behavior into intentional musical action by adding a second part in polyrhythm. Polyrhythm was one of the foundations of all Venda music, and although it has been argued that children's songs ought to be isorhythmic, as a necessary phase of human cognitive development, Venda children played polyrhythms at a very early age. The isorhythm of many European children's songs should be understood as a consequence of particular social formations and ideas about the organization of musical life, rather than a necessary condition of children's music, and children's music education might well be improved by less use of isorhythmic songs and more experience of polyrhythm.

If tone-stress and ideal motion in music portray nervous tension and motor impulse and so stimulate bodily experiences, it is because people have learned to make the connections. From early childhood, Venda grew accustomed to experiences that could be had through systematic movements with others. When two children played together a succession of beats or an iambic figure (short-long beat), they generally played in different tempos or in canon, rather than in unison. Thus one could play two to a partner's three beats, or synchronize the short beats of an iambic figure with the other's long beats, producing a stream of short beats (Blacking, 1973, p. 27 ff.). To do this was an exercise of individuality in community. Each player had to hold fast to her or his part, and the collective effort produced both new cultural forms and a richer experience for the participants. The right sound of the music was always related to the experience of "falling into phase" that players shared, and so polyrhythmic performance was a necessary step along the path to understanding the human predicament that I mentioned earlier: muthu ndi muthu nga vhanwe.

Music, dance, and the integration of thinking and feeling. Increasing participation in dance and music helped Venda children to learn how to think and act, how to feel, and how to relate. Emotion and reason, affect and cognition, were not separate but integrated aspects of their social life. Codes of affect could not easily be distinguished from patterns of nonverbal cognition. Much of public life was ritualized, especially in dance and music, and displays of emotion were regarded as unintelligent, except when appropriate for certain stages or crises of life, such as shyness for young girls (and even sulking on occasions) and grief for mourners.

Distinctions between emotion and cognition were not sharply drawn, as people emphasized feeling in general as a quality of mind, and especially fellow-feeling and sensitivity to other self and to the world of nature. Dance and music were means of testing theories about self, body, other self, and other persons (cf. Blacking, 1983). The balance between types of cognition, between "propositional/discursive" and "performance/expressive," was recognized in the contrasting forms of institutions (see Table II in Blacking, 1982) and worked out in movement and music. Feeling was structured in ways that had implications for human relationships and cognitive development.

Thus sensuous, bodily experience could be attained through correct musical performance, which was achieved by rehearsal, and correct musical performance was a way of feeling. Having feelings through music could be an end in itself or a means to an end, depending on the context of the feelings and the person having them. In Venda, the underlying principles of the sociocultural system were expressed in ways that could be assimilated at a very personal level, through communal music and dance, but without the kind of political indoctrination that Maurice Bloch reported from Malagasy (1974). The succession of different styles learned by every Venda and the varied composition of their ensembles reflected a process of induction into and reinforcement of the Venda system of government (see Fig. 7, Blacking, 1973, p. 77); but the processes of music making were structured so that there was always scope for individual creativity and imaginative improvisation within a framework that itself was organized to allow for the exercise of individuality in community.

Although there were restrictions on who played certain kinds of music, depending on sex, age, and status, and some music, such as songs of the boys' circumcision school might be heard only by the initiated, most people were able to hear most music at any time of life, and the path to musical enlightenment was not restricted by any system of graded complexity.

Very small children often learned five- and six-tone songs before they learned some two- and three-tone songs, because they were more popular, more appropriate, or more interesting to a particular child. It was as if the state saw to it that young pianists had opportunities to play a Mozart concerto with a good orchestra before even learning a Mozart piano sonata. Similarly, one has to imagine members of the Royal Ballet dancing on the stage at Covent Garden, with scores of children standing in the wings watching, copying, and experimenting! What is more, the audience might well show more interest in the promising efforts of a child than in the performance of the stars.

The point is that the Parnassian heights were to be reached by everyone, because the experience was considered necessary for human fulfillment. Venda definitions incorporated the notion of music as a species-specific attribute, a part of being human. Thus the problem was to initiate newcomers into the mysteries, rather than segregate those professionals who had clearly arrived.

Dance and Music as Schemata, Symbols, Concepts, and Rules

Music is always multi-media communication, in that the raw material of organized sound is embedded in and accompanied by other verbal and nonverbal messages. It is also multi-*level* communication: its ambiguity allows performances of a single piece of music to be perceived and remembered as schemata, symbols, concepts, or rules. In the context of social life, musical systems are groups of *schemata* and *symbols*, which are linked by certain *concepts* and governed by *rules*. A child can grasp the schemata without having any idea of their significance as symbols, simply by performing them and remembering them. The same material can be rehearsed and interpreted as symbols and concepts that relate to other cultural phenomena, and then *rules* are discovered and used for creating new forms. It might be more correct to describe music as "symbolized schemata" of sound, since the sounds have no intrinsic meaning and only become symbols insofar as they can be related to other cultural and social phenomena.

One of the first songs that all Venda children acquired *as a recognized musical skill* was the four-tone counting song *Poṱilo* (No. 13, Blacking, 1967). Each phrase was accompanied by a rhythmic touching or grasping of the fingers and thumbs—from left little finger to thumb by the thumb and first finger of the right hand, and then right thumb to third finger by the thumb and first finger of the left hand—until the concluding tenth phrase was reinforced by a clap of the hands. Infants were often encouraged to perform this song before they could speak sentences of Venda. Between the ages of twenty-four and thirty-six months, most children first produced an erratic melody, unstable words and rhythmic movements that were regular but did not necessarily coincide with the melodic phrases, and then they graduated effortlessly to coordinated performances that were publicly accepted as correct. By the age of three, they also appreciated the symbolic significance of *Poṱilo* and other similar schemata as "counting songs" (see Plate 14 and Songs Nos. 13-17, Blacking, 1967). They related them to counting-out games, and began to associate them with other singing games and musical activities that were categorized as "songs" or "games," such as verses that were sung by all present as part of children's stories (*ngano*) told on winter evenings, or the *tshigombela* dance of girls (Plate 6, Blacking, 1967), which was called a "game" (*mutambo*).

Assimilation of the concepts of singing, playing, and dancing as skills and social activities was helped on by attempts to perform during intervals in adult music making (Plates 9A and 9B in Blacking, 1967), by imitation while standing alongside girls and boys who were rehearsing their dances, and by performing children's play-dances (*dzhombo*). The variety of contexts in which children experienced or tried to perform music and dance helped them to understand the relationship of artistic skills to social institutions, and to value them as means of communication no less important than speech.

During my fieldwork, children between the ages of five and eight years taught me concepts and rules relating to musical symbols. Not only could they outline the classifications of different types of children's song and several different musical styles, but they had grasped the essential difference between Venda speech and song (Blacking, 1973, pp. 27-28). They had also discovered rules of music making to the extent that they could correct my mistakes (Blacking, 1973, p. 69) and could adapt a given melody to new words, because they understood the principles of interaction of patterns of melody and speechtone (Blacking, 1967, pp. 167-171; Blacking, 1973, pp. 69-70). They had grasped the basic principles of harmony and could recognize two different melodies as transformations of a single harmonic framework (Blacking, 1973, pp. 23-24); they understood the principles of repeating rhythmic patterns (Blacking, 1967, ff. 157); and also appreciated that repeated melodic patterns could be transformed by the organizing principles of tonality and mode (cf. Blacking, 1967, p. 186 and Song No. 36a).

As children grew up, they began to explore available musical instruments (e.g., Blacking 1967, Plate No. 9A) and tried to participate in performances. By the age of five or six, some had begun to learn certain solo instruments for pleasure and reflection, but all participated in the boys' and girls' play-dances (*dzhombo*) on moonlit nights, where they first learned to improvise words and dance steps, use additive rhythms, and lead songs--all good training for *malende* songs and dances, which were a major musical activity of adults. At about this stage, they learned that the "call" sections of songs provided singers with opportunities for improvising words of protest or social comment, and they would have heard many women doing this when pounding maize at night. A good singer (*ṋambi*) was one who had not only a strong, clear voice but also a rich storehouse of different verses and the ability to adapt them to a topical issue.

In most cases, children acquired the skills of music and dance indirectly by attending a wide variety of performances, and directly by learning from their peers and immediate seniors. Even at initiation schools, songs and dances were learned not so much from instructors as from those who had recently graduated. There was, in fact, surprisingly little direct adult-child interaction involving music and dance, and comparatively little mother-child interaction except in the early preverbal stages. The critical appreciation of adults provided an incentive to perform well, but it was not an important factor in learning *how* to perform.

Main Features of Venda Music Education, 1956-58

African musics are often taught in American and European schools and universities with a boy scout/campfire ethos that conceals their seriousness and subtle beauty. Students receive the impression that they are fun and easy to perform, in contrast, for example, to the exacting practice and devotion to a teacher that are required for learning Indian music. The context-sensitivity and technical complexity of African musics are overlooked, and so their contribution to music education is not appreciated.

Many African societies provide models for learning music easily and with great commitment. Deep involvement of the body and the constant relationship of music to dance enabled children to master techniques quickly; and the frequent association of performance with life-events and with cooperation with others both drew young people to music and helped musical experience to affect positively their performance in other spheres of social life.

In modern industrial societies, art is no longer thought to be as much a part of life as it was in peasant and tribal societies. In fact, if the impact of popular music, radio, and television is taken into account, children of modern cities have as many opportunities to exercise their musical capabilities as they had in rural Venda. Moreover, the "spiritual" values and attitudes that were assigned to music practice and experience in Venda society (which I outlined in the earlier parts of this paper), are held no less in modern industrial societies. There are, however, certain crucial differences in outlook and practice that reduce the effectiveness of music and music education in industrial societies.

First, and perhaps most disastrous, is the belief that musical ability is a rare and special gift that some people have in greater quantities than others. Most Venda believed that everyone possessed the necessary abilities to perform and make sense of music. Excellence was applauded, but it was considered to be primarily the result of commitment and hard work. Nobody denied that musical ability could also be enhanced by social position or by membership in a family of keen musicians; but if people did not excel at music, it was considered to be due to their own free decision to concentrate on something else, and not to some personal deficiency.

Second, the Venda generally did not consider transcendental experience and inspired performance to be mysterious, elusive qualities that only a few special people could attain--a gift of grace for the chosen few. They were available to all who learned to use their bodies correctly (cf. Blacking, 1973, p. 110). Education systems that stress creativity and tend to neglect the pursuit of excellence in the performance of others' music, can deprive people of important musical experiences, and especially the harmony of body and spirit that comes with mastery of technique (provided that technical mastery is not considered to be the sole object of the exercise, as I pointed out earlier).

Third, the Venda system had the important asset of integrating music with other arts, and especially dance, so that there were more roads open toward music appreciation and practice, and greater opportunities for total involvement. The separation of the arts in European education was an unfortunate consequence of the division of labor in society, which was combined with other divisions such as professional artist/nonartist, musical/nonmusical, mental/manual labor in the arts. These divisions are being broken down (cf. Tax, 1972), but it has become more than ever necessary that the division of labor in the production of goods is not reflected but contested by the arts.

Important features of Venda music education can be summarized under the headings of motivation and skills:

1. Motivation

   a. Hearing music was part of a corporate social activity. Musical practice was a way to greater incorporation and establishment of personal identity.

   b. Early participation in ensemble playing brought the pleasure of association with neighbors and kinsfolk, and often the praise and encouragement of appreciative audiences of adults.

   c. Musical expertise could bring a person to hold positions of responsibility and power in other spheres. This was particularly so for women, who could become instructors in girls' initiation schools.

   d. Musical experience was regarded as an important key to self-knowledge and understanding of the world.

2. Skills

   a. Music was learned in the context of other social activities, and in conjunction with other forms of knowledge, such as dance.

   b. Most music was learned informally from peers or immediate seniors. At initiation schools, performance was monitored by the "officers" of the school. Subsequently people were appraised by the criticism of audiences, for example, at beer parties and performances of tshikona.

   c. The main technique of learning was by observation and listening, trial and error, and then frequent rehearsal.

   d. There was no graduated learning. Whole pieces were tried, though in intervals groups worked at dance steps, drum patterns, and other parts of the whole. Music was not necessarily classified or learned in any order of technical complexity. Whole phrases of words were learned and people joined in the chorus until they got it right.

   e. Practice for singing solos and inventing new words were gained through children's play-dances (dzhombo), through specific exercises at initiation schools, and through adding phrases to existing songs.

f. The rules for relating melodies to the speech-tone of the language were acquired early in childhood, and although people could not specify how the system worked, they could correct mistakes and invent appropriate melodic variations for new words.

g. The most important skill was to be able to play with and listen to others, whether in the polyrhythms of drumming, clapping, and dancing, or the counterpoint of song development.

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Chapter 6

Learning from Music

Gerald T. Johnson

A few interrelated ideas from the realm of anthropology and ethnomusicology guide my use of music in teaching settings. These ideas are, first, that music exists within a cultural context; second, that it can reflect in various ways that cultural context, including the values and world views of, at least, the performers; and third, that it may also help to shape attitudes, values, and perspectives in the sense that people of almost all societies learn something external to the music sound from the music they experience. These ideas constitute an ethnomusicological perspective that I have found useful as an elementary school teacher and, presently, as a museum educator within a major natural history museum.

For the last six years, I have been applying my knowledge, skills, and perspectives within a museum setting. I proceed in my museum education work with the assumption that the concepts and categories of experience used by our museum scientists constitute at least what I call a culture, and that my task, as educator, has been to communicate these shared understandings regarding rocks, plants, animal life, and human culture to the general museum public, especially children and their parents, by way of programs and interactive experiences. Undoubtedly, my background, training, and field experiences have affected my perspective and approach to museum education and by extension the perspectives and approaches of others—parents, volunteers, and other educators--who in turn have found themselves using music in ways they may not have considered before.

I have to assume that I was asked to be a part of this symposium because I am an ethnomusicologist who finds himself, like the music educators, "on the front line" educating young people. The hope of this symposium seems to be that the concepts and perspectives that are derived from ethnomusicologists' studies of the world's music can have a positive effect on music education, and that there are ways to apply these concepts and perspectives in the daily lives of music educators. It is with these hopes in mind that I share:

1. principles from ethnomusicology that guide my work;

2. ethnographic evidence for these understandings;

3. some applications within primarily nonmusical educational contexts; and

4. insights I have gained as a result of these applications.

Guiding Ethnomusicological Principles

Any one of the other enthomusicologists participating in this symposium could create a list from the set of general understandings we share as a result of our comparative studies of music outside Western musical traditions. The list I indicated is brief, but, I believe, it accurately represents those which constitute a consistent part of my world view as I develop and present museum education programs. In abbreviated form they are:

1. Music is interrelated with other aspects of culture.

2. Music reflects attidues, values, and world views.

3. Music enculturates.

These principles seem to be logically derivable from each other. If a people's music is interrelated with other aspects of their culture, then it could be assumed that the music will reflect those other aspects of culture. If music reflects other aspects of culture, such as attitudes, values, and world view, can we assume that the younger members of those societies learn some of these by way of their musical experiences? Since most of those in attendance at the symposium are professional enculturators, I shall be focusing upon the last of these--the enculturational function of music.

While I would expect most ethnomusicologists to agree that music enculturates, one is hard pressed to find ethnographic examples supporting this assumption. However, a number of studies relating music to the rest of culture imply the potential for such learning.

In How Musical Is Man?, John Blacking (1973, p. 26) assumes "that because music is humanly organized sound, there ought to be a relationship between patterns of human organization and the patterns of sound produced as a result of human interaction." He has also provided us with an interpretation of Venda music and social organization that challenges us all to seek such relationships in other human settings. If we can accept his assumption that these relationships exist, we might further assume that those patterns of sound could serve to enculturate or to reinforce whatever cultural learning has occurred regarding the patterns of human organization characteristic of a given society and strive to understand how that learning and reinforcement takes place. Do certain kinds of musical patterns or "deep structures" underlying those patterns facilitate enculturation more effectively than do others?

Alan P. Merriam (1964, p. 210), while discussing the concept of function in The Anthropology of Music stated, "The student can, for example, learn something of the values of a culture by analyzing song texts for what they express." The student to whom he refers is the student of ethnomusicology rather than a member of that culture. To what extent do song texts provide the younger members of a given society with the opportunity to learn even more from the songs than can the outside investigator?

Another ethnographic interpretation that relates music to other aspects of culture is David P. McAllester's (1954, p. 3) earlier Enemy Way Music, described by him as "an attempt to explore cultural values through an analysis of attitudes toward music and through an analysis of the music itself." Within this classic work I find an implication that the existential and normative values of the Navajo could be taught or reinforced by that music which expresses them, but the possibility does not seem to have been investigated at the time of this study.

At about the same time, Richard Waterman was much more explicit in drawing attention to music as enculturator in Yirkalla, Australia. He wrote:

> Basically, music functions at Yirkalla as an enculturative mechanism, a means of learning Yirkalla culture. Throughout his life, the Aboriginal is surrounded by musical events that instruct him about his natural environment and its utilization by man, that teach him his world-view and shape his system of values, and that reinforce his understanding of Aboriginal concepts of status and of his own role.... In every case, the enculturative function of the music in helping to shape the social personality of the Aboriginal in the Yirkalla pattern, rather than in some other, is apparent. (1955, p. 41)

Jean E. Synder (1984), at my request, recently shared her perspectives on learning from music, based upon her studies in Zambia:

> The children learn values and taboos through story songs. Often grandmother is the storyteller, and the children participate through formalized responses to the story and by singing the refrain of the song, which may be woven into the story several times. Stories warn girls not to marry a handsome stranger, teach the importance of hard work, warn future mothers not to mistreat orphans or the children of another wife, or show that the small but clever can outwit the strong....

In spite of the fact that ethnomusicologists seem to agree that music has the potential of assisting in the process of enculturation, we do not seem to have delineated clearly how that might be taking place. Is repetition a key ingredient for learning from music? Does music without words enculturate? How is it used in coordination with other teaching or enculturational mechanisms? Is there ethnographic evidence in support of the music-facilitated "whole brain" learning procedures (Ostrander & Schroeder, 1979) developed in Bulgaria? What do the people within the other societies of the world say about learning from music?

Though it is clear that music and song have the potential of teaching or enculturating, it is rare that music or song is the only source for understanding. Speech, dance, drama and other media usually precede, accompany or follow a potential learning-from-music event. Thus, it may be difficult at times to determine how effective music is. However, the fact that it is used so often may be a clue to its effectiveness. Careful comparative research may discover that certain kinds of cultural knowledge seem more easily communicated by music, than are other kinds or that particular musical forms more effectively facilitate learning than do others.

Meanwhile, I shall present some ethnographic examples based upon my field work among the Mohave of the American Southwest in 1965 and among the Mende of West Africa in 1968. I appreciate this excuse to turn again to my field notes from the Colorado River Reservation and Sierra Leone in seeking a better understanding of some aspect of these cultures that have had such a profound effect upon my life and perspective.

Mohave Examples

I spent a summer on the Colorado River Reservation, with the goal of gaining an understanding of the use of song cycles in the lives of contemporary Mohave people. Traditionally, the Mohave were farmers who took advantage of the fertile soil along the banks of the annually overflowing Colorado River. Most of the families I found residing on the reservation near Parker, Arizona, were involved in modern agriculture assisted by an elaborate irrigation system.

Funerals were still, as they had been in the ethnographic past, the primary context for the singing of these song cycles. Of the thirty song cycles mentioned in A.L. Kroeber's Handbook of Indians of California (1961) and George Herzog's "Yuman music style," (1928), I found at least one-third still being sung.

Songs were being learned within the context of families. Much of the learning was informal and occurred during the singing at funerals. However, occasions were mentioned where songs were learned out of context from a knowledgeable singer, as well as from dreams. I also observed practice sessions on the part of a group of Mohave men and women who danced and sang at intertribal events. At least one song cycle, the Bird Dance tciyere, was believed to have been learned around the turn of the century from members of another Yuman group, which singers referred to as "the Mission Indians." Its use during funerals, according to informants, seems to have been quite recent. Herzog, in 1928, indicated only that the Bird Dance songs were sung for annual Fourth of July fiestas.

The song cycles have always had an association with myths; they generally tell of journeys by humans or animals with many detailed stops along the way until they reach an ultimate destination where the humans are transformed into animals or landmarks. Kroeber told us, "All the cycles have their songs strung on a thread of myth" (1976, p. 755), while Herzog, 1928) noted a continuing "strong connection with myths" (1928, p. 200). I found associated stories being told for both Deer, akwak, and Bird Dance songs with evidence leading me to believe that the myths were still being told for some others.

Much of Mohave music thus seems to fit into a pattern of enculturation by way of song described by Herndon and McLeod in Music as Culture:

> Where myth is a prominent part of particular religious activities, songs are used as retention devices. Sections of a major myth cycle may be elaborated upon as the basis for highly specific stories in drama and, by this means, the memorization and retention of it is assured. (1979, p. 111)

Most of the motivation for learning Mohave song cycles, if not much of the learning itself, was attributed to dreaming. Most of the singers whom I interviewed cited dreams as the means by which they learned--or discovered that they were destined to learn and to sing--a particular song cycle.

> Knowledge is not a thing to be learned, the Mohave declare, but to be acquired by each man according to his dreams. (Kroeber, 1961, p. 754)

For those motivated by dreams to learn a particular myth, the songs and associated dances appear to provide useful mnemonic devices. For those not intending to learn, does hearing the songs and associated myths have the potential of reinforcing by way of metaphor a particular view of life, that is, as many of the myths recount, a journey from milestone to milestone ending in an inevitable sunset and a subsequent transformation at sunrise?

Could it be that the song cycles teach not only of perspectives on life, but of attitudes towards death as well? Death in Mohave society has traditionally been marked by a mourning ceremony lasting one or more days depending upon the time it takes for distant relatives to arrive. The ceremonies were marked by lamentations, speeches, and the singing of song cycles. At times I heard three different song cycles being sung at the same time by different individuals and groups in a building intended for such purposes. The mourning ceremony is concluded with cremation of the body and chupilyk, the destruction of property with the dead. In the past, this included the deceased's house and shade, along with all possessions and "gifts," such as flowers and brightly colored scarves, laid near the deceased by those arriving at the funeral. It also included the symbolic destruction of the song cycles sung by the deceased during his or her life.

Singers reported to me that, immediately following the funeral of a father or other close relative, they thought they would never again sing a certain song cycle. Each of them spoke of the songs as "a gift" to the deceased and explained that the singing of these songs in the next few years would have brought back the grief and sorrow associated with the relative's death. A similar, but even more serious attitude was detected by Kroeber (1961, p. 751):

> When a man has sung for his dying or dead son, he throws away and gives him--chupilyk--his songs.

Thus, for the Mohave, not only singing, but the abstinence from singing may have enculturational potential. Both may reinforce in the minds of the young and others the importance and significance of chupilyk and, indirectly, related concepts concerning death and the life-here-after.

Mende Examples

The Mende, a rice farming people residing primarily in the West African country of Sierra Leone, provide us with the opportunity to consider some additional learning-from-music possibilities. I had the opportunity to spend a year with the Kpaa Mende, who are concentrated primarily in Kori Chiefdom, approximately 125 miles inland by motor road from the coast line capital of Freetown.

Here, the mnemonic potential of song is not limited to religious settings, as described from the Mohave. Among the Mende can be found singers of "war songs," *kɔ́ wulísia*, that, in the so-called "griot" tradition, relate elements of local history by way of song. They are termed "war songs" because the local history is often couched in a song format which has the singer recounting a fictitious war campaign. He sings as if he were a part of a conquering war party defeating one former chief after another. (See Figure 1.)

The Mende appear to recognize the potential that music has in facilitating learning retaining information. In cases where a chieftancy is being sought by more than one person, "war songs" are considered as evidence that can substantiate the legitimacy of an individual's claim to the position.

Of great importance to all Mende communities are the women's society, *sande hálé*, and the men's society, *pɔ́ hálé*, into which almost all girls and boys, respectively, are initiated. It has been suggested by Kenneth Little (1967) that these societies fulfill a number of functions for the Mende, but it is the enculturational one that is most pertinent here. During initiation school, each child is expected to internalize some adult perspectives on the world. While the details of the initiation activities and schooling within the Sande or Poro "bush" are unavailable to non-initiates such as myself, it is public knowledge that songs and dances are associated with each stage of the initiation process. Whether the instruction is as direct as Blacking found for the Venda--"One song tells girls not to gossip" (1973, p. 39)--I cannot say. However, it seems clear that in these crucial learning contexts, important to many African societies, where proper adult attitudes and behaviors constitute the learning objectives, music plays a highly significant role. Does the music in some ways facilitate that learning? If so, how?

Learning takes place in Mende society in other, more secular, musical settings as well. Most Mende song categories are based on the social group that sings them: men's society songs, women's society songs, warriors' society songs, children's songs, Christian songs and others. However, the most common songs are those often categorized only as "songs," *ngulísia*, or, when pressed for a more specific category, "all people's songs," *númú gbi wulísia*. These are the songs which are enjoyed by most Mende during occasions for celebration.

Usually the responsibility of lead singers in Mende society is to create an atmosphere of celebration. "All people's songs" are often filled with improvised communications by the leader directed at those present encouraging the kind of participatory behavior that creates good *ngɛ́hɛ́ɛ*, the sounds of

A Kpaa Mende "War Song"

We left there for Nyandehu
The home of Ndɛgbɛ;
We left there
And walked to Taiama
Where we met Foray Fong,
Gbenje, Kokoya,
Samanguti and Njaloi,
On whom we waged war
And defeated them;
We left with the war
And traveled to Sɛnɛhu,
The home of Kainang ,
Kpagbe was at Njagbahu,
His mother was a Tegbɛ,
Quee was at Njama,
Songa of Gbahima,
Foigbe of Ngangama,
. . .
We reached Bubɛ
And met Mbɔgba and Vova,
Who are very small "English-business" children
That I would not like to mention in my songs;
We waged war on them and captured them

(Pa Mosima, Njama, 14 July 1968)

Figure 1

celebration, and discouraging the inappropriate. (See Figure 2.) The improvised phrases are intended primarily for the adults present at the celebration rather than for children. In that light, their intention is to encourage them to behave in ways which, as adults, they likely recognize as proper. However, nearly every celebration is attended by children of all ages who participate along with adults in creating the proper *ngɛ̂hɛ́ɛ*. For them, the music provides not only an accompaniment for the dance, but a lesson in proper participation as well.

In addition to these traditional music forms, the Mende have been exposed to the music of Christianity since the nineteenth century. They probably had the opportunity to hear chanted verses from the Koran from even earlier times. Even more recently some Mende have created and sung songs in the Mende language expressing Christian and Moslem perspectives with the intention of helping others learn and adopt these perspectives and related behaviors. (See Figure 3.)

The educational, or enculturational, intent of the examples cited for the Mende and the Mohave is not always obvious. While they all seem to have the potential of transmitting ideas and perspectives to others, more investigation in the field will be necessary before anyone can say that the transmission is intentional or successful. What does seem clear is that most of the knowledge which can be transmitted by the singing of these songs is a social knowledge. Both cultures are characterized by musics that have the potential of teaching proper behavior in social settings--ways to treat the dead, to celebrate, or to interact with the spiritual world. That is not to say that other knowledge is not transmitted by these songs or by other kinds of music in these societies. The initiation ceremonies of the Mende may very well include perspectives on what we call our physical environment and human relationships to it. Certainly, the Mohave song cycles and myths can inform listeners of the region's physical landmarks, as they map out their mythical journeys.

With our present knowledge, we cannot say if the modification or expansion of human perspectives is the primary intention of these ethnographic examples; however, music does seem, at least, to facilitate these processes. It can serve to enculturate the young, the unenculturated, but the effects are not limited to them. Music, particularly song, also can reinforce the shared perspectives of a society's adult population. In addition, wherever contrasting world views, religious perspectives or political ideologies exist in a society, music has often been used to encourage or to assist adults in making a transition from one perspective and associated behavior pattern to another.

Music in the Museum

It was with these perspectives in mind that I began six years ago to create and use songs for nonmusical educational purposes within the Milwaukee Public Museum. Music was not foreign to the Museum when I arrived. In

Examples of improvised phrases from a Mende "All People's Songs"

To the percussionists, they sing phrases such as:

Kɔndɔ, beat my *kélé*-drum, yo ...
Semɔjai, beat my *mbilî*-drum, yo ...
How have you been beating it with me, oyo? ...
Why, *wanjɔ́*-rattle, how have you been beating it with me, oyo? ...
Miigoe, yo, can you not answer on the *kélé*-drum, e? ...
Semɔjai, keep beating this *mbilî*-drum of mine properly? ...
You, Jenɛti, shake the *sɛgbûla*-rattle ...

To individuals dancing, they can improvise:

Limbo, come, let us dance, yo ...
Mama, come, let us step together ...
Elder Miigoe, yo, keep setting down the dance to the beat;
Baka, ee, let us keep stepping together ...
Ninaye, yo, keep setting down the dance to the beat ...
Let us braid it, let us tread on it, oo ...

To individuals who are expected to respond to the song leader in the unimprovised choruses, they can sing:

Sweetheart, talk, let me hear, ye ...
Limbo, talk, let me hear, yoya ...
O, let me hear, yo ...
Elder Kpande, talk, let me hear, yo;
My wife, Lija, talk, let me hear, yo;
Sande official, Ndandoi, talk, let me hear, yoyo ...

To individuals "spoiling the dance," they might sing:

Lover, the dance has spoiled for me ...
Kpɔni, Yila, the dance has spoiled for me ...
Why has the dance spoiled for me? ...
Mali, don't spoil the dance, yo ...
Why can't you dance, oye? ...
Soligbi, you have become a root on the road ...
Ninaye, yo, come on, show us you how you are tired and giving up, gal ...

Figure 2

To individuals interfering with the proper "sounds of celebration," they might sing or shout:

> Ah, mama, we shall not quarrel about each other today ...
> As for Tangewa, it is only women that he praises;
> Young man, Tangewa, young man, Tangewa's talk in this dance;
> You, your own good things are nothing but women ...
> As for Josefi, him, in spite of this now with which we are passing,
> He is still scolding;
> It is woman-scolding that he passes with ...
> Do not pursue talking ...

About those individuals who are absent, they might sing:

> Eh, where has Kumba gone, oye? ...
> Absence, eh, in Tamujin's absence ...
> Where is Landoi, oye? ...

(Gbɛsɛ Taninihu and Kpande Mitei, Taiama, 23 December 1967).

Figure 2 (continued)

Commentary on a Mende Language Christian Song

One of these, created and sung by Kpande Mitei (Njɔmbɔhu, 14 September 1968), clearly lists those activities that the singer believes, fall outside the guidelines for living proposed by Jesus Christ and his followers. The repeated chorus states:

> You have left Jesus.

The leader clarifies what he means, when he sings, such improvised lines as:

> It is *kpíndí goé* that has deceived you;

kpíndí goe, literally "night war," is a kind of malevolent medicine intended to destroy opponents while they are sleeping. It is said to be used for luck or superiority in competitive activities.

> You have followed *ndíléí*;

ndíléí is the boa constrictor. To "follow the boa" means to have been using malevolent magic, because sorcerers are said to be able to transform themselves into boa constrictors.

Thus, to the Mende listener, it should be clear that, at least from the perspective of the singer, using *kpíndí gɔé* and following *ndíleí*, constitute ways of "leaving Jesus" and, by implication, should be avoided if one wishes to be a Christian.

Figure 3

addition to the incidental music piped into lobbies, cafeteria, and hallways, prerecorded music was designed into our exhibit halls and live music was frequently scheduled to accompany special events, such as exhibit openings. The latter generally fell into the category of Western music that John Blacking (1973) has described as "decoration" of social events. However, it was also common for "ethnic" music to be presented as part of public cultural appreciation programs.

The music designed into the cultural exhibit halls is a manifestation of the total environmental emphasis that characterizes the Milwaukee Public Museum. Just as geese and other fowl can be heard above the Horicon Marsh diarama and thundering hooves can be heard as one stands in front of a herd of charging bison, music from various cultures of the world add to the visitor's sense of "being there" in a North African courtyard, an East African village, a Hopi pueblo or a Japanese garden. As visitors move through the halls, the changes in music serve in much the same way as change in floor textures, wall colors, flora and fauna, to provide the visitors with a sense that they have left one exhibit area and are entering a different one.

In my educational programs, I have behaved as if music effectively enculturates. I began by incorporating songs into exhibit hall programs at the primary level. For instance, in an "Animal Babies and Their Homes" program, when I wanted to introduce the growth concepts of eggs, babies and adults before exposing the children to examples of each, I used a song I developed for that purpose. (See Figure 4.)

In an "Indians of the Plains and Woodlands" program, I adapted the children's game chant, "Going on a Lion Hunt," to a bison hunt context in order to get across such ideas as (1) some Plains Indian songs have the same serious status as the songs or prayers the children may have sung "in church, synagogue, mosque or temple"; (2) Plains Indian bison hunting techniques were modified with the introduction, first, of the horse and, later, of firearms; and (3) the bison herds were destroyed primarily by non-Indians hunting for fun and profit.

In "Farmers of the African Forest" I have used an adapted Mende song and dance to involve the children in an exhibit hall "celebration," following their subsistence sequence of "slashing," "burning," "planting," and "harvesting" within the rain forest environment.

As part of my responsibilities at the Museum, I supervise and, with the tireless efforts of dedicated volunteers, develop interactive, discovery learning environments for four- to seven-year-old children in an area called Musement Park. I have had the privilege of participating in the development of two themes: "Splash! Discover Lake Michigan" and "Come Crawl with Me." I mention them because one of my contributions to their development has been musical. Since the experiences within Musement Park are intended to be non-directed, I came up with a song for each that presents many of the basic concepts incorporated into the program design.

For instance, "Come Crawl with Me" consists of several larger-than-life insect environments and one spider environment. The butterfly environment includes softball-size Monarch butterfly eggs, a seven-and-a-half foot soft sculpture caterpillar, a four-foot high chrysalis hanging from a giant milkweed plant, and a four-foot monarch butterfly hanging within reach from

Eggs Become Babies (a museum song)

Eggs become babies
And babies will grow up;
It isn't her fault;
No! No!
Eggs become babies
And babies will grow up
To become an adult.

We all were once wee tiny eggs;
We grew baby heads, arms and legs;
We'll grow to be women and men,
Then start in all over again, when ...

Figure 4

* * * * * * * * * * *

Come Crawl (a museum song)

Come sing a song as you crawl along
Like a six-legged ant;
You can crawl inside your hill,
But I'm too big, I can't;

Chorus: Come crawl; come crawl;
Come one; come all
And crawl, crawl, crawl;
"Softly!: Crawl, crawl, crawl;
"Loudly!: Crawl, crawl, crawl.

Caterpillar, she crawls along
On her many feet;
Caterpillar, she won't last long
Without some leaves to eat;

Come sit with us in a chrysalis
And become a butterfly;
Butterfly when she crawls out
Can wave her wings, "Good-bye!"

Come crawl with me like a busy bee
In and out your hive;
Making honey's lots of fun
As long as you stay alive;

Spider, he's not got six legs;
Spider, he's got eight;
Spider spins his web each day
And then he sits and waits;

Figure 5

the ceiling, as well as a butterfly/moth specimen table and an easel for butterfly art activities. The children are free to "lay" eggs (thanks to velcro) on the underside of the leaves of the milkweed, slip into the chrysalis, emerge with butterfly wings, manipulate the "flying" of the butterfly, rest and work butterfly puzzles on the back of the caterpillar or create their own colorful butterfly to take home. Other "Come Crawl with Me" environments are intended to expose the young children to information about ants, bees, other assorted insects, and spiders. A song, "Come Crawl," which the children hear and sing before leaving Musement Park, is intended as a review of each of the environments to which they have been exposed (See Figure 5). The song is also included in an activity book which the children usually take with them when leaving.

My ethnographic awareness that music can play more than a supporting role in some learning contexts encouraged me to create some interactive musical programs designed to inform. "Dinosaungs," the most recently developed one, attempts to share, by way of a series of songs, some paleontological understandings regarding the Mesozoic era:

> "Pangaea" refers to that single continent, Earth's only land mass, two hundred million years ago, when the first dinosaurs appeared.
>
> Each verse of "The World Was Filled with Dinosaurs" introduces the participating listener to a different dinosaur or other large reptile from that era, along with some of their distinctive features.
>
> During "Dig Dinosaurs," children with imaginary shovels, spoons, and brushes gather the data of paleontology while learning about stratification as a relative dating technique.
>
> "What's a Fossil?" involves the audience in a discovery of the nature of fossils and how they are formed.
>
> "What Color Were Dinosaurs?" introduces the principle of camouflage as one way of seeking an answer to that question.
>
> "Where Did the Dinosaurs Go?" raises more questions than answers, since scientists are still wondering what caused the relatively sudden demise of these marvelously adapted creatures.
>
> "Dinosaur Family Feud," a game in which the children explore some of the theories accounting for this mass extinction, brings the program to a close.

Conclusion

As a cultural anthropologist, I have always seen my task as understanding the shared perspectives of the societies, the communities or social groups with which I have become associated. As a museum educator, I have seen my task as effectively communicating to the general public the shared perspectives of those particular scientific and humanistic disciplines represented in the staff of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

As an ethnomusicologist, I have assumed a relationship between the music of any people and their particular way of viewing the world and noted evidence that music is an effective way of communicating that world view to new and potential members of the society, community, or social group. As a museum educator, I have turned to whatever resources, including music, that have been available for the effective transmission of concepts, perspectives, and understandings regarding natural and human history to my general museum audience.

If, as I assume, music can enculturate, it is just as clear that it rarely, if ever, enculturates alone. It would be as unwise for educators to rely solely upon music as an instructional medium as it would be for them to ignore music's instructional potential. I have heard ethnomusicologists bemoaning the fact that an insignificant percentage of the world's music is represented in the music education courses in our nation's schools. While many states today require certified music teachers to take at least a course in non-Western music, those requirements do not seem to have a lasting effect upon public school teachers or their students. I maintain that one lesson we can obviously learn from our cross-cultural musical studies is that music is usually maintained when it is somehow integrated into other systems of thought and behavior. Thus, if it would be beneficial for the members of our society to recognize, appreciate, and, at times, produce the music of other societies, it perhaps makes sense for us to consider ways in which to integrate non-Western music into non-musical systems here.

Are there untried and innovative ways in which non-Western music can be used by regular, nonmusic grade school teachers to teach other nonmusical curricula? Can we help them develop ways to do that? If the teachers see the advantages of such endeavors, I suspect they will continue. Will they turn to those music teachers with non-Western music training to assist them? If the children have an exposure to these musics in a meaningful context, I would suggest that as they mature, they may be more likely to seek greater non-Western musical understanding to become more appreciative of musical diversity, and, perhaps, even to include non-Western music in their performance repertoire.

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Chapter 7

Montana and Iran: Learning and Teaching in the Conception of Music in Two Contrasting Cultures

Bruno Nettl

It has long been a basic assumption in musicology that the music of a society in some way reflects its values. In ethnomusicology, with its intercultural focus, this assumption has in certain ways even constituted a raison d'etre of the field. The study of culture as a set of values was widespread in anthropology in the 1950s, and David McAllester is perhaps the person most responsible for first explicitly presenting a study of the relationship of values and characteristics of Navaho culture that takes into account primarily the uses and conceptions of music. In 1978 I tried to move the study of the relationship to greater consideration of music as a system of sound, by trying to identify certain central social values, or values of social behavior, in urban Iran. This study turned upon values encapsulable by the terms: hierarchy, individualism, surprise, and framing of events, relating these to what I perceived to be the central body of music of Iranian culture, the classical music system. I was concerned in particular with the radif, the body of music that musicians memorize and from which they learn to improvise and to compose music. It is not hard to make a case for presenting the radif as central in the classical music of Iran, but one may question the centrality of classical music itself in Iranian culture. Yet this issue is not what I want to debate, rather I accept it as a basic assumption for part of this paper.

The radif is a repertory of music in which the values of Iranian culture are particularly well reflected. But it is also the main teaching tool of classical music. In some ways it functions as professor and etude, exercises and theory text. And if Persian classical music is a reflection of cultural values, the radif must be a device for teaching not only the music but also these cultural values it symbolizes. Our ways of teaching our musical system inevitably are also ways in which we teach the values of our culture: and the more central the music, the more central their values to our culture.

It is believed that some societies even more than the rest use music as a way of teaching their own culture. Thus we say that music is thought in some cultures to have primarily an enculturative function. It is possible that some societies actually make this explicit, saying, as it were, that the purpose of learning music is to learn what is really important about culture.

But I would suggest that to some extent many or all societies use music for this purpose. And why music? I can speculate upon reasons. Perhaps because it is totally capable of being arbitrarily symbolic, because it is not really necessary for subsistence, shelter, reproduction, but is available to serve as humans wish it. It does not directly represent nature or culture, as does visual art; it does not have the physical function of design or the lexical meaning of literature. It can be used to distill and abstract. And so, I believe, music is used more widely than we suspect to transmit important if not easily verbalized values of society.

And so, if music is used to teach culture, it stands to reason that those things that are used expressly for the purpose of teaching--and I mean materials such as exercises, but also teaching methods, musical events, and institutions particularly involved in teaching—must be the ones in which the aspects of culture that music teaches are most characteristically found. I'd like to follow up these thoughts with a brief look at three cultures.

Let me return to the example of Iran. The way in which one learns the system of classical music, traditionally at least, is through study of the radif, a repertory of some 300 short pieces organized into twelve modal units of dastgahs, all together requiring about eight or ten hours for performance. It is in some ways not properly music, but rather, material that becomes the point of departure for the creation of music, for composition and, more important, improvisation. We can look at it as something that embodies everything important about Persian classical music, but also as a technique of teaching. You study the radif, and once you have memorized it, you know everything important, so it is said, about Persian music.

In studying the radif, the students learn, through its structure, the importance of hierarchy, individualism, surprise, and what goes first in social events. The tension between the idea of humans as equal before God, and of society as a set of unequal relationships, is made clear through the presentation of the various components of the radif as equally capable of becoming music, and the subsequent insistence by the teacher that certain parts are more important than others. Importance results from departure from norms--modulation to different modal configurations, accidentals--and also from the ability of a unit to give rise to far-flung improvisation; and it is signified by appearing before others, by its precedence. But if the structure of the radif embodies some important values of society and becomes, in effect, a vehicle for teaching them, the concept of the radif itself may also be interpreted as an enculturative mechanism.

First, the fact that a musical community accepts a single repertory of music as basic, as a fundament for the entire musical system, is of interest. It teaches the value of authority. Each student must first submit to a kind of musical authority, to learn the radif of his teacher, after which, it is assumed, he may be free to improvise upon it. It is as if society were saying, "first you must learn the basic principles of life, then you can be an individual and apply these as you see fit." The juxtaposition of the radif as authority and of actual performance as something in which the individual can exhibit personal preferences and proclivities abstracts an important aspect of Iranian Muslim culture, the importance, in Islam, of submitting to the authority of God and the prophet ("Islam," after all, means something like "submission") and the insistence on personal interpretation. The Iranian music student finds his perception of his society reinforced by the concept of music as authority followed by freedom.

Second, the creation of the radif (ca. 1890-1900) and its ascendancy in the period 1920-1978 accompanies a period of resurgent nationalism in Iran, a period in which government and people may have thought of Iran as a giant reawakening after 2,000 years of dormancy, thoroughly distinct from its Arab neighbors, and very much as a single nation with its many minorities and ethnic groups. The system of music extant in Iran before 1900 was in many ways similar to that of Arabic cultures, and the later period is distinct from it, if we generalize broadly, because of the establishment of the radif as a single grand edifice. The music did not, perhaps, sound very different from its earlier forms, but it was more organized, bolstered by an individual theory, and presented as a single national system. The idea of a kind of nationalism, of the value of Iran as a distinct and unified nation, was imparted in the teaching of the radif. Its many subdivisions bear names of many places throughout Iran, of regions and tribal groups. The idea that it is a universal system capable of expressing all that a music can express also testifies to its holistic nature.

More important, it teaches the value of individualism, of improvisation in which the individual makes decisions, but makes them within a framework of informally articulated rules. The radif itself contains techniques of improvisation--repetition, development of a motif, melodic sequence, expansion and contraction, avoidance of exact repetition, but also avoidance of radical movement in a specific structural direction. It includes the conception of rapid change of tempo and rhythm, of mood; and it does not involve carrying out an idea to its logical consequence. It gives the student the idea that he has options, that there is more than one way to deal with a situation, that one should not depart too much from a norm though at the same time developing one's own way of doing things. All of this is a distillation or abstraction of concepts that govern many aspects of the culture. If the radif does not directly teach a student his own culture, it reinforces many of the values that he has learned elsewhere. And the radif does it more specifically than do the various kinds of improvisation and composition that stem from it.

The social aspects of teaching are as important as the structural elements of the teaching materials. The older traditions--before the substantial westernization that took place after the 1950s--worked to inculcate important values of the culture. Respect for authority, tempered with individualism, found in the radif itself, was also a matter of personal relations. The teacher shared his radif with students, expecting them to learn it precisely. On the other hand, it was assumed that each teacher had his own radif, and only after the idea of a modern nation-state with central authority had been established in the 1950s did Iranian musicians set about, under the prodding of government bureaucrats, to devise a generally acceptable, standardized one. Teaching took place at a deliberate pace. Students were expected to contemplate the materials, to learn them slowly, memorizing short bits week by week; and oral tradition was stressed. When notation became available, those teachers favoring it as well as those opposed, were united in believing that it would bring about major changes.

I do not have to belabor the point that the understanding of the way in which a musical system is taught is helpful to an understanding of the way the music works, of the conception of music, and also of the way in which music is used to represent and teach the values and guiding principles of a culture. All of this is also evident in the culture of the Blackfoot people, although they do not have a class of professional musicians, no formalized music education, and no written or otherwise articulated music theory. One of the important things to understand about the Blackfoot musical culture is the conception of creating music as closely akin to learning. Three brief examples will show you what I mean.

In the older traditional culture, the idea of humans making up songs seems not really to have been accepted, but rather, it was believed that songs were taught to humans by supernatural guardian spirits in visions. It is a conception widespread in American Indian music. The way a song came into existence was through learning it, in its complete form, in a vision. And other ways in which music was thought to come into being were related.

It is possible, therefore, to think of traditional Blackfoot musical thought as denying the creation of music by Blackfoot people, but rather, to ascribe all coming of music into the tribe as learning. One learned songs from Napi, "Old Man," the culture hero of the Blackfoot who invented the world (although the mythology ambiguously has people of other tribes already extant when the Blackfoot came into being). One also learned songs from guardian spirits; and one could learn them from other tribes. In each case, songs were not taught but "given," sung once and theoretically learned in one hearing. At modern powwows the concept of learning a song in one hearing is still the accepted theory. Furthermore, songs are given to others, they function like commodities or objects, they were "given" when the collections of sacred objects legitimizing a medicine man's power, known as medicine bundles, were transferred. Each object had its song. In all respects, a song has integrity, is associated with a person, function, event, is learned (i.e., created) as a unit. And I believe I am right in suggesting that song was not thought to change through oral tradition, although it could be dreamed, that is, created, more than once by different people if sung to them, for example, by the same guardian spirit.

Through all of this, important musical and cultural values that are learned along with the music may be noted if we can extrapolate from older ethnographies. For example, culture exists in discrete units; it is a bunch of pieces. Songs are kept separate and discrete; they are not changed, taken apart, varied, learned in sections. Nor are the components of culture--tribe, band, ceremony. Each is associated with one person, and whether someone else has the same experience, dream, song-creating vision, guardian spirit, does not affect his integrity. Things belong to individuals, and the universe of culture can be expanded by tribe and person. One can dream an unlimited number of songs, the supernatural may give them to the human.

The Great Plains also were seemingly unlimited in area and scope. By courage, wisdom, skill one could expand one's property without taking from others; one could dream the same song as someone else and yet not thereby take away his song. But if one has much, one must generously share with others--goods, songs, ceremonies. One gives songs to others, yet this does not mean that one has lost them. One can learn from other tribes, and teach them. This is a subject worthy of thorough development, but you can see how the conceptions involved in the learning of music reflect some of the things that are important about Blackfoot culture.

A second value taught through the learning of music is the role of old age in human life. One learns music throughout one's life, not only in one's youth. In Western culture, the musical system and most of the repertory, active or passive, is thought to be learned by the time one is finished with college; further additions are relatively few and minor. In Blackfoot society, people, or at least men, continued learning new songs throughout their lives. Two illustrations: (1) a medicine man who receives visions from a powerful guardian spirit giving instructions and songs continued having visions and, presumably, learning new songs into old age. Indeed, some of the most powerful and thus important songs may not have been learned until one was old. (2) On the other hand, men were initiated successively into a series of age-grade societies, graduating to a new one roughly every four years. These societies had functions in war, ceremony, and social matters, and the eighth society was composed of old men (actually perhaps in their forties). But for each society, one learned a new set of ceremonies and thus continued learning new music into old age. It becomes clear from this that Blackfoot society did not find a man's learning capacity diminished by age.

But another value learned is the homogeniety of society. There was no division of music into classes, into parts of a repertory available only to certain parts of the population. The concept of musical talent as distinguishing people from each other was not developed. Music was labeled by and associated with individual persons, but not by group within the tribe. Anyone could sing any song if it had been taught or given by a person or in a vision. There was evidently also no separate repertory of children's music. There probably was a separate body of music sung by women, not discovered or studied by outsiders, but if there is a division of society into distinct and permanent classes it applies only to the social distinction between men and women. The notion of temporary leadership in society and war is reflected in music by the existence of singing groups in which there is no permanent leader, each song being started and led by a different person.

If Iranian classical music teaches that the values of society are hierarchy, individualism, surprise, a certain kind of order of event, this is a rather good reflection of behavior, whether ideal or not. But if Blackfoot music teaching tells you that old age is respectable, that the society is a unit, that when one thinks one is creating something, one is really learning something that already exists somewhere, if one learns that the components of culture are stable, discrete, unchanging--this is somewhat of an idealized view of culture, a way of telling people how they should perceive culture, how they should think about culture.

Let me turn to a third society, our own. Our cultural values, too, ought to be discernible in our musical system. What kinds of values do we teach? Of course, we have many styles and repertories, and perhaps each of them symbolizes an aspect of culture. But what of the kind of music that is characteristically (I apologize if I am behind the times) taught and learned in our educational institutions, the music we call classical or art music and its derivatives? Let us take an informal look at some of the things an anthropologist viewing our culture from the outside might wish to examine. Here is what the music might show me, if I take a devil's advocate position.

In one sense, we have a fragmented society. We have many musics, each associated with a population group determined partly by choice, but in fact also correlating with social class, educational background, race, age, ethnicity. Music is a major marker of ethnic boundaries. It is true, however, that some general principles tie all of these musics together and oppose them with those of other societies: functional harmony, the idea of the large ensemble, the matter of control over the musical environment. It is such generally valid characteristics that have permitted members of our society to take a particular view of their music vis-a-vis those of other cultures. They divide the world into "ours and not-ours," questioning whether the musics of other societies are really music, and assuming that they are all rather alike.

Furthermore, our musical system also teaches that various kinds of discrimination are desirable. As mentioned, each subdivision of our population has a music with which it identifies itself. But there is also the concept of a certain music being the best. Indeed, in our standard academic music teaching, we impart the message that Western classical or art music is better than others, and that one is somehow a better person for being attached to it. The classical music station calls itself your "good music station," and we have programs such as "Adventures in Good Music," a kind of thing not claimed for rock, soul, jazz, country, or bluegrass. And in a sense, our musical repertories are taught in isolation. The concept of instruction--say, theory classes--that includes illustrations from a variety of musics is rare.

In various ways, we teach in most of our schools a hierarchical view of society. First, the kinds of music: classical is great, jazz and folk okay, rock music good only if it leads you to the best. We also strive to teach refined taste. In various direct and indirect ways, our teaching and our textbooks tell the student that there is such a thing as the masterpiece, and the great master; a small list of top composers is revered, and what they do is a firm standard not to be questioned. At various times, however, it was thought to be a sign of poor taste to like Franz Liszt, Peter Ilyitch Tchaikovsky, even Gustav Mahler; and the implied judgment, "what, you are so stupid that you even like that?" is widespread. Having very narrow taste is a sign of accomplishment; broad taste is questioned.

But the hierarchical view is taught directly through the music system also in other ways. Our ensembles are hierarchies. Even in chamber ensembles we see that the first violin leads the string quartet, the lead guitar does so in the rock group. But the music that is regarded as ideal in our musical culture, and most particularly in our teaching institutions, is the large ensemble--orchestra, concert band, choir--with its built-in hierarchical structure. Violinists compete for first chair, for a spot near the front, for membership in the first violin section. And of course there is the role of the conductor.

While the leadership in a rock group or a jazz band may be informal and perhaps collective, and in any case not standardized, the leadership of the large institution most valued by our system of musical indoctrination is administered in a dictatorial style. In school it is the teacher who leads, coaches, instructs. But elsewhere, it is a conductor who is sometimes depicted as the true musician of the occasion, the orchestra being, as it were, his instrument. Does this perhaps mean that we like to think of our society, reflected in music, as a group of marionettes directed by a supreme puller of strings, that we are content to leave judgment to others, just as an orchestra does not vote on tempo? The concept of conductor as autocrat comes across not only in his appearance as the principal star of the event. His rehearsal technique supports the concept, as do the ways in which musicians are inclined to talk about him or her. Anecdotes describing the verbal cruelties of great conductors, of their hard and insistent behavior, are favorites of orchestra musicians and are told to attest the conductor's quality and standards. The idea of dictatorial leadership is certainly, it seems to me, taught as a positive value in our musical system.

Related to this is the idea of control. The need for the musician to control his or her musical environment significantly reflects the inordinate drive in modern Western society to control the physical and social environment. We stress notation, use knowledge of it to separate musical sheep from goats, feel that no one can really understand music if he cannot read it. We relegate to improvisation a kind of secondary status, one of craft in comparison with the arts of composition and performance. And in all of this, we teach the value of conforming in a way not too different from military training. Take the implication of stressing large ensembles, in which many do the same thing, asking people to blend their voices in chorus, bow in unison in the orchestra, march together in complicated formations in the band on the football field. What values are projected by a musical culture that insists that one play what is written, follow the leader, and dress in a kind of uniform?

There are other values that our music system reflects. I want to point out only one more that is clearly presented in our system of teaching music, and that is the difference between musician and listener. In college, we ordinarily avoid having music majors and others in the same classes. We do not teach music that is not disseminated through notation. We often fail to accord status as proper music to traditions with oral transmission. All of this does not, however, result in high status for the musician; indeed, if we look at the history of music in our culture, it keeps musicians out of the mainstream of culture and in categories of discrimination.

I have drawn a perhaps one-sided and needlessly negative picture of the things about our culture that are reflected in our music and the way it is taught. But it is hard to escape the conclusion that among the values that our culture projects are hierarchy and a class system, respect for autocracy, desire for conformity, a personality cult, and a kind of fragmentation of society. Of course, I have avoided mentioning other values that may seem more positive. This is only an exercise intended to stimulate discussion. As an ethnomusicologist whose job it is to figure out what is going on and why, my observations fit at least a part of what I know about our culture. The conclusions about Iran and the Blackfoot Indians have been accepted by at least some members of those societies. I think I have identified important values and shown how the music teaching system distills and abstracts them; but of course I have presented them with a personal point of view. To me, as a member of our society who is involved in musical education, the relationships between our particular kind of music teaching and the character of our culture are a bit disturbing. Perhaps, if we wish to change some of the fundamental values that we teach to our young people, we might well start with music. Ethnomusicology teaches that music reflects culture; but it could also spearhead action that changes the directions of culture.

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Chapter 8

Tshiyanda Na Ululi— Boundaries of Independence, Life, Music, and Education in Tshokwe Society, Angola, Zaire

Barbara Schmidt-Wrenger

> In the beginning of time, when Kalunga had arranged all things and creatures on earth, like stars, stones, plants and animals, he created Tshibinda Ilunga, the first hunter. Tshibinda Ilunga lived on earth for a while, but then felt more and more lonesome, and so he cried out to Kalunga to put an end to his loneliness. And Kalunga gave him a ngoma drum and said: play this drum, and you will see what happens.
>
> And Tshibinda Ilunga started to beat the drum's hide, and when ke kept on drumming, human beings appeared from all sides, men, women and children, and they danced to the sound of Tshibinda's drum. They all stayed at that place and built a village later on and then two and three more villages, and Tshibinda Ilunga was made their chief.[1]

"The first drummer" is a Tshokwe myth of particular interest for the understanding of the deep relationship between life and music making in this society. The myth could equally be called "the myth of the creation of society" or "the myth of how human life comes into being by music making," for this is exactly what the story tells us: a single individual cannot live alone and therefore has to come into permanent contact with other human beings. To establish, to structure, and to maintain this contact between different individuals means to create a society, and for the Tshokwe this has to be done by the means of music making. Making use of the term "music making" instead of "music" reconciles my terminology with the Tshokwe's emphasis on the process of doing something rather than giving a name to the resultant output. This is at the same time logical and pragmatic, for music indeed is only "something" while being performed, whether if audibly and in public or silently in an individual's mind. Without a human being making music, there is no music at all, unless we take the score for the music.

The Tshokwe concept thus is very much in line with the avant-garde of modern science in physics and philosophy.[2] They (the Tshokwe) do not even provide in their terminology a specific name equivalent to our term "music." Instead, they communicate on music with a fascinating variety of verbs and adjectives, describing precisely the leg movement of a dancer or the melodic contour performed on the xylophone.[3] And this is not because they lack abstract conceptualizations as has been assumed by early ethnologists, but because their concept of reality is different. In the Tshokwe Weltanschauung, life is a fluctuating process of "doing" and "being done," where things and events are constantly changing, permanently "becoming" instead of "being."[4]

But let us come back to the myth. We should not take the content too literally. The Tshokwe do not believe in giving life to stones by making music. Creating a physical human being is the task of man and woman with help of the ancestors. "Life" in the myth means "social life," and the Tshokwe strongly believe that this social life has to be created by human beings making music, and that it has to be developed and taken care of by the singing and dancing of the whole community.

There are several Tshokwe sayings, pointing clearly to the concept of inseparability of music making and living together harmoniously as a group. "Hearing the drums, you are hearing the people" (Martins, 1951, p. 78), or "while dancing, you cannot make war on your neighbor." Perhaps the most widespread and the one I like most because of its condensed form and wisdom is _Tshiyanda_ _na_ _ululi._ Literally translated, the text means "Tshiyanda, mother of rightness." A more elaborate explanation of Tshokwe origin is: "The Tshiyanda dance is a source of good and correct feelings," or "By dancing Tshiyanda, people learn how to live together in the correct way of Tshokwe tradition." The Tshiyanda is the most important dance of a Tshokwe community. Men, women, and even children participate, the dance being performed in one or two concentric circles in a counter-clockwise direction around the drum group, thus following the movement of the stars. Several vocal soloists, the chorus of the dancers, and the drum group form a music making unity.

To understand the saying in its totality, we have to take into consideration, too, the excelling importance of the mother in the lifetime of any individual Tshokwe as well as for the Tshokwe society (deSousa, 1971; Schmidt-Wrenger, 1979). To attribute the qualities and capacities of a mother to a musical performance therefore means for the Tshokwe to consider this music and dance as the focal point of their life, and we will see why later.

When I first met the Tshokwe people in 1973, I wondered at some facts unknown to me from my own society: I never heard babies or children cry, I never saw an adult chiding a youngster and, with regard to music making, I failed to discover any systematic formal teaching, so well known to most of us from music schools and private lessons. Nevertheless, there were Tshokwe boys between 8 and 11 in age, who took their full part as musicians in the drummer group, and girls of about 14 were known as outstanding vocal soloists or dancers. So there had to be some kind of music education at an early age taking place secretly or just imperceptibly to my non-African eyes.

Later on I learned to see and to distinguish the different ways the Tshokwe use to educate their children in general or with a special aim in mind, like musicianship. And it took me several years more to become aware of the fact that indeed, I had learned something quite important for my own life without having ever been taught purposefully by any Tshokwe, musician or non-musician, but simply by realizing what the Tshowke saying "_Tshiyanda_ _na_ _ululi_" means for me.

If we look at education as a sort of balance between "teaching" and "learning," education in Tshokwe society is based on "learning" rather than on "teaching." This holds true for music education as well as for education in general. "Learning" is thought of as an observing-perceiving-imitating-participating process starting very early in life. In the Tshokwe society the unborn already are exposed to the rhythmic body movements of their mothers who normally continue to participate in the communal dancing until the very last days before confinement. Newborns and children up to 3 years are constantly and regularly shaken from left to right and up and down on the back or hips of their mother or an elder sister, thus by force sensing and following the basic movement patterns performed by the adult person dancing.

Between 3 and 4, Tshokwe children start to dance on their own, try to join the chorus singing the village dance songs, and make experiments in clapping their hands. Tshokwe adults never would push a child out of the dance circle, even if his or her clumsiness and lack of sufficient body control may bring smiles. On the contrary, all children are encouraged from their early years to participate in singing and dancing on the communal level. Those who show considerable efforts and those picking up words, melodies, or movement patterns quickly are praised in public, adults pointing them out shouting, for example, "have a look how smoothly she moves her hips" or "Mama, how strongly his feet are already beating the ground." People may even cry in excitement, clap their hands or dance around the child, touching its head gently with their right hand.

Children who learn less quickly on the other hand are not at all regarded as "unmusical," but as nothing else than less quick. They are left to themselves for a while and then are gently and very cautiously corrected by family members. I myself learned the body movements of the Tshiyanda dance in exactly the same way a slow-learning young Tshokwe girl would: an elder woman danced just behind me, her body close to my back, her hands on my hips, pushing me in the right direction, and giving me at the same time the important turn for the winnowing-movement which is the basic movement pattern of the Tshiyanda.

A nonverbal demonstration like this might well be accompanied by verbal explanations, but I have found this a rare case. Most of the Tshokwe girls and boys do not need any body-contact demonstration at all, but learn by observing, perceiving, and imitating.

To participate in the communal singing and dancing however is only a part of Tshokwe children's musical enterprise. From John Blacking's Venda Children's Songs (1967) we already know what the other part is. Exactly like the Venda children, Tshokwe boys and girls practice and create musical genres of their own, transmitted from older children to younger ones, the repertory including counting songs, play songs, songs of mockery, and storytelling songs. The music-learning process of children taught by children follows the same main principles guiding educational processes in Tshokwe society in general: learning takes place without or with a minimum of formal teaching.[5]

This purposefully directed formal education, however, does occur and is given to young musicians from time to time, not regularly and only to meet the needs of an individual pupil. A young xylophone player, for example, starts relatively early in life to make himself familiar with the instrument. At 3 or 4 years of age, a boy sits besides his father, uncle, or elder brother observing their movements, swinging his arms in the musician's manner, obviously enjoying the whole performance, his own included. Tshokwe adults look at such behavior as a sign of evolving musicianship. To have the abilities of a mukwa ku tomba (someone who creates things) be it a carver, a healer or a xylophone player, depends on a spiritual heritage from a certain ancestor, who in former times had such an occupation. This heritage might be an obligation for the child, which if not properly respected, could cause severe illness. Nevertheless, no child would ever be forced by its family to become a ndjimba, a specialized musician; this would depend totally on its own will and decision.

Once a positive decision is made, however, a student of xylophone music is treated differently from young drummers, dancers, or vocalists. Boys who want to learn the xylophone have to spend some years in close contact with an advanced player. In the case of Mutshalo and Kwenda, two brothers, 9 and 7 years old, their own father was the teacher. The boys had to practice every day and they were taught the technique and the repertory stepwise, beginning with what the teacher considers simple to grasp, that is, short, interlocking patterns on the smaller instrument, accompanying the father playing the main part on the leading instrument. A young xylophone student usually will assume and fulfill the role of an accompanying musician for several years, before he becomes mature, or is allowed to master the soloist's part. And the final steps, improvising new patterns, renewing old, and composing new xylophone tunes, are not to be taken until the musician is fully advanced and masters perfectly the technique and the traditional repertory transmitted to him by his teacher.

So there is systematic formal musical education, but as an exception. A drummer would not learn this way, and a young girl who wants to become a vocal soloist--for this is the women's domain in Tshokwe society--would not even have a teaching person to join and to ask for instruction. Instead she would depend on herself, and there is no other way to achieve acceptance than to show musical competence in public. With a clear, piercing voice, clapping the basic rhythmic patterns always correctly, remembering the words of a song better than anyone else, she has to convince the group she is singing with outstanding capacities and thus will be accepted as a coming leading soloist. She never would push things forward herself, asking to sing the soloist's part of a song, for this would be regarded as bad behavior. Instead, she has to wait patiently for the moment when an elder woman singer will say: "Well, so-and-so should take over the next song; she is good."

The question remains how she acquired her knowledge and by what means she manages to become exactly the type of vocal performer the Tshokwe appreciate. The way she learns is the non-teaching way already mentioned. She observes other women soloists, perceives and imitates their musical behavior, and then starts to develop activities of her own, like being the first in proposing a song sequence, inventing melodic variations for the chorus' parts of the songs and singing them loudly and clearly, thus filling up the dense texture of the harmonious, multipart singing of Tshokwe dance songs.[6] (See Figure 1.)

"A good singer sings all day long" is a Tshokwe saying, and another one of importance for our discussion goes like this: "A drummer is already drumming in his mother's womb." The Tshokwe concept of musical education provides no way to "make someone a musician" by "teaching him music." A musician makes himself a musician by unfolding his possibilities along the lines given by Tshokwe tradition. And this holds true for all human beings born into Tshokwe society, ordinary singers and dancers as well as highly

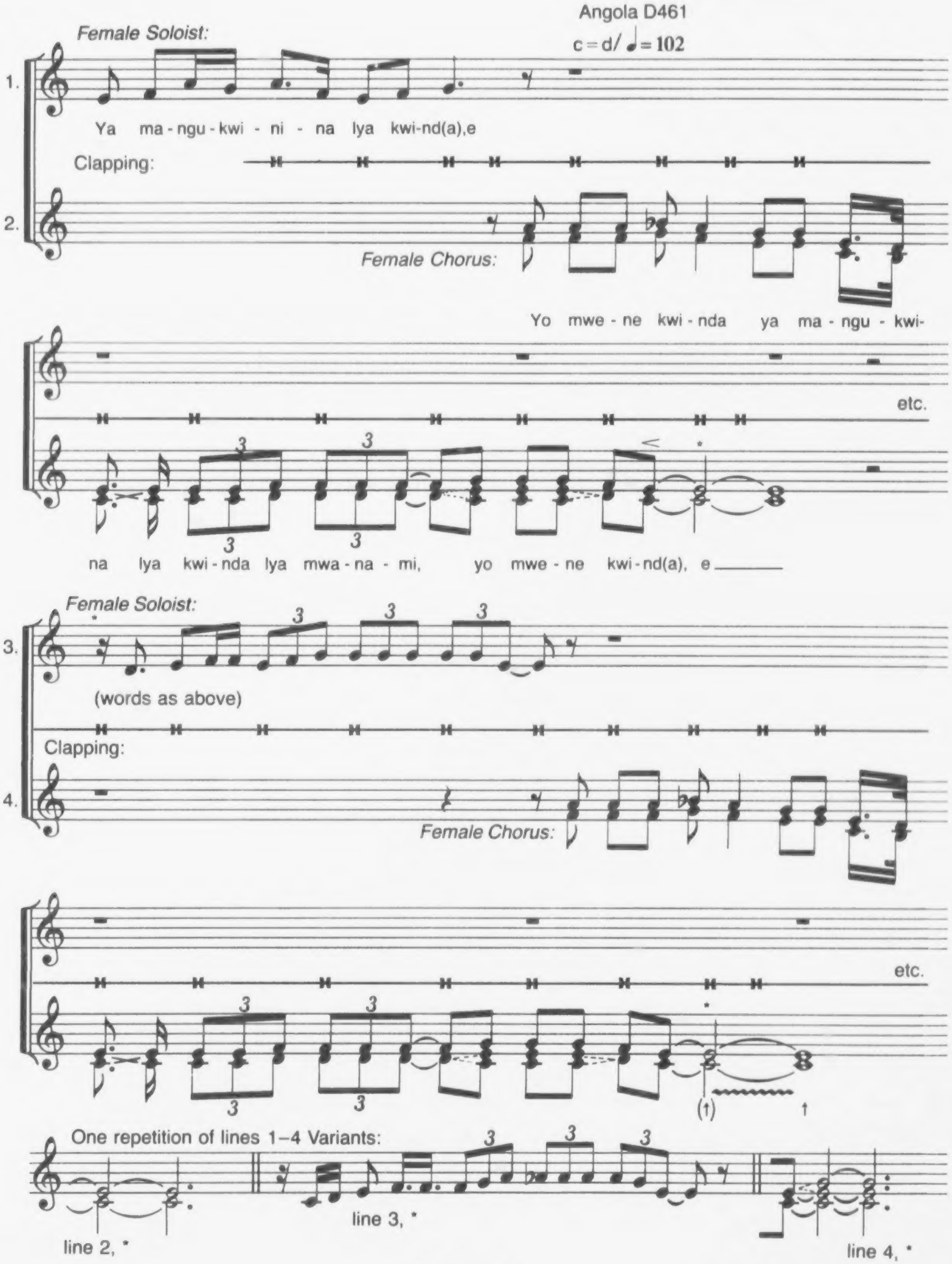
Angola D461
c = d/ ♩ = 102
Female Soloist:
1.
Ya ma - ngu - kwi - ni - na lya kwi-nd(a),e
Clapping:
2.
Female Chorus:
Yo mwe - ne kwi - nda ya ma - ngu - kwi-
etc.
na lya kwi - nda lya mwa - na - mi, yo mwe - ne kwi - nd(a), e
Female Soloist:
3.
(words as above)
Clapping:
4.
Female Chorus:
etc.
(↑) ↑
One repetition of lines 1–4 Variants:
line 2, *
line 3, *
line 4, *

Figure 1

specialized musicians like the xylophone player. So the only thing which can be done and which has to be done concerning education is to offer guidelines, to reveal techniques, and to give instructive insights into the life of others more experienced than the beginner. It is just this that turns out to be perhaps the most important and most effective part of the Tshokwe's educational concept. *Kutondela*, "to let someone experience something," is the key term revealing values, which seem to emphasize individual independence. But it is not independence that is aimed for; the goal is balance between independence and strictly normal behavior.

There is a short period of time in the life of every Tshokwe boy and girl when teaching and learning is enforced and condensed, a period of intensified instruction, the *mukanda* initiation. *Mukanda* is a traditional initiation school, lasting from 6 weeks to 6 months, according to the customs and local circumstances. The institution of *mukanda* serves to transmit social value sets and norms of correct behavior as well as certain mental and physical skills. Song, movement, dance, and drumming are the main teaching tools in a *mukanda*, and one of the reasons for this fact is expressed by the Acooli headman Ongo, who made the point that "things will not be forgotten, if they are made up in a song" (Ongo, 1952, p. 2).

During the second period of a *mukanda*, the circumcised initiates learn to act as a group of peers. This period is called *Tshitondwe*, which derives from *kutondela*. *Tshitondwe* is marked by an intensive dance training, often more than 6 hours a day. The boys not only learn the movements of the dancing masks, but also master different parts of their own body by the use of particular movement exercises called *kutanga*, "to work." (Kubik, 1977, pp. 257-259).

The most important thing about the dance training, however, is to dance and to move as a member of a community. Whether the boys dance filing in a row or in parallel line facing the drums, they move as closely to one another as possible; forming a circle, they touch each other's hands.

During this period of *mukanda*, the boys live together in a strict ranking order, which corresponds to the hierarchy of the Tshokwe society outside the *mukanda* school. There is a Paramount Chief *mwanangana*, several local authorities, *miata*, some *sukullu* village headmen and a varying number of ordinary men. This way, each of the boys learns his place in the society at the same degree he actually will occupy afterwards. All members of the society have different tasks and obligations, and the initiates train to fulfill their proper role in the Tshokwe community correctly. Nevertheless they are all treated alike, and the individual is responsible for the whole group.[7]

The names the initiates get for this purpose are terms used as well in musical terminology: *khundu*, "the next one," appears in *mukhundu*, the medium sized drum, next to the biggest drum, *ya shina*. *Lindakatshi*, "the one between or in the middle of two things," is a term for the medium region of the xylophone and the lamellaphone, and designates the second of the three notes of the hunter's pipe, *kasengosengo*. *Songo*, "upper part, last end of something," means a social position as well as the high pitched side of the double-hided drum. (Schmidt-Wrenger, 1981). Thus two spheres of life are brought together and are closely linked by the same name given to parts of corresponding realities. Whenever a Tshokwe later on will attend communal dancing, he will remember his social position by looking at the drum group, and a Tshokwe woman will remember the message of the song texts she learned in her mukanda wa pho. During the female mukanda, the Ukule-period, a girl reaching maturity is advised and initiated by an old woman, alone, in seclusion, and separated from the village life. Between sunset and dawn, women and initiated girls of her family and of neighboring villages meet at a certain place in the bush to sing and to dance Ukule together with the new initiate. The words of the Ukule songs exhort the girl to take her role as a wife, mother, and community member as seriously as possible. Events are mentioned or discussed, where incorrect social behavior caused mental trouble, social instability, or physical illness. (Schmidt-Wrenger, 1979, III, song texts). The girl just initiated, however, was not personally involved in the drama described in the song text, and so she is enabled to participate in an experience of others without the bad or frustrating results. This way of learning could be called, according to Fend (1970), "learning by observation of negative models" (p. 79). Trial and error are already carried out, and learning takes place in an emotionally balanced situation without someone constantly repeating "you have to do this and you must not do that!"

Dancing together with the other women, listening to the songtexts and particularly by the way these songs are performed, makes the Tshokwe girl experience happiness and a feeling of personal security. In a mentally and bodily relaxed way she learns to meet the demands of her community without giving up her own personality. And once more the problem to solve is to find the balance between independence and normed behavior.

Ukule women's songs are a model of what should be done. Within the framework of normed rhythm and an unchangeable melodic phrasing, Tshokwe vocalists are free to move between high and low pitches, creating additive melodic lines, using new words, varying the inner structure of fixed rhythmic patterns. (Schmidt-Wrenger, 1983-84, pp. 97-98). It is a Tshiyanda dance performance that models the ideal of the Tshokwe concept of balance between individual needs and group demands. Dancers, vocalists, and drummers are acting together for the same goal, a satisfying musical performance. Each group behaves differently and has its own musical tasks, offering at the same time possibilities for soloists to realize innovations or to improvise spontaneously, and all this is bound together by rhythmic coordination, dance choreography, and the structure of the song.

So these elements, obviously limiting a free development of creativity, are exactly the elements necessary to establish a performance of Tshiyanda music, not because of aesthetic demands, but for the simple reason that there would be no Tshiyanda at all without them. For the Tshokwe, a Tshiyanda performance thus is mirroring life and can be used as a model for learning how to live a satisfying social life. Kwimbila, "to sing in the wrong way," also means "to throw things down everywhere," "to have no order." Kulyakula is "to sing in a chorus, to sing antiphonally," and lyakulu means "altogether, completely" in general. (Schmidt-Wrenger, 1980, p. 60). This is an example of how musical terms become metaphors of life and life can be learned by music making. And finally, "to make music like Tshiyanda," means living at its best, perfect social interaction.

Music making as a model of life, reflecting and developing social interaction is what I learned from Tshiyanda na ululi, and what I try to communicate to students of musicology. How does the Tshokwe model of life/

music/education fit into the West German model of university education in 1984? To be brief, it does not fit at all. We are facing two basically different situations of teaching and learning, where communal music making, general ability, fluctuation, nonformal teaching, and an individual learning process contrast with individual or small-group music making, selectivity, static concepts, formalized teaching, and a learning process highly dependent on intellectual tools and verbalization.

So how can it be possible to communicate Tshiyanda na ululi to European students? We are not dancing Tshiyanda or Ukule, nor do we make musical instruments or sing Tshokwe songs. My students themselves took this decision, arguing that it would make no sense to imitate isolated "things" of a culture, never reaching the model imitated. What they asked for was the concept of life and music making, and so we are trying for the moment to practice European classical music and folk music in such a way that we are experiencing and discussing what there is to learn about leader-group relationship, about power and power sharing, about satisfaction, shyness, and showing off.

Being the soprano in a vocal quartet, you may realize in different ways how musical facts and actions relate far beyond the musical performance to the everyday life sphere. Being a soprano nearly always means "being on the top" and usually means to "have the melody." Simply by interchanging the part with the bass, the soprano singer experiences what it means to be at the bottom, to produce long, deep sounds, jumping up and down in wide, nonmelodic steps, but appropriate as a stable basic line for the three other voices. "At the bottom" the soprano does not have "the melody" and is no longer the secret leader of the whole performance.

The task to build up the fundamental line of the song is totally different from "singing the melody," and the soprano will certainly realize that not having a deep and sonorous voice, she is lacking some of the most important qualities the voice singing "at the bottom" must possess.

Trying to take over one of the parts in the middle, the soprano may feel unable to produce long lines of gliding, chromatically changing tones that seem to be of no special, individual value, unless the alto falls ill. Without the part of the alto, the song sounds hollow, empty, no matter how powerfully the three remaining voices are performing. And if a second alto, for example, tries to replace the tenor voice singing his part, the effect is unsatisfying because of the difference in sound quality between the two voices "in the middle." It may be a confusing experience for a soprano, also, to hear the three others singing well, and quite correctly, without the part "on the top." So, what about leadership? To experience that each of the parts in a vocal quartet is of equal importance and that--at the same time--each voice has its particular non-interchangeable qualities, changes the whole performance atmosphere and may even increase friendship among the singers. Each one no longer sings "his or her part" and nothing else, but becomes highly sensitive for the whole of the song for all its parts and for the human beings singing these parts. Practicing music this way and observing the process consciously, students and "teacher" come to learn much about human relationship, friendship, and satisfying social interaction.

This is the Tshokwe way to "teach" balance between individual aims and group demands, and the transposition into our own life pays attention to the fact that there should be at least one musical idiom in which people are able to communicate with others throughout their lifetime, one they really feel at home with. This seems to me the most important aim in music education, no matter what "sort of" music is learned and practiced. We wanted to create our own social reality by making music together even if it was for a few hours only, and we were and are doing this very consciously, not looking for an aesthetic and most perfect result from a musician's point of view, but instead trying to realize what is going on with us individually and as a group while making this music this way.

Experiencing music making in the Tshokwe way, we are learning at the same time how it may be possible to create human life with a more humanly shaped attitude. With this in mind, the Tshokwe principles of music making, life, and education were no longer strange or foreign to us or even idealistic, but became real and practicable.

Notes

[1] Martins, personal communication; see also Martins (1971).

[2] Capra (1983, p. 295). "Systemdenken heißt Denken in Vorgangen, Form wird mit Geschehen assoziiert, Zusammenhan mit Wechsel wirkung, . . ."

[3] For example, kuhila means "to zigzag, to place crosswise," and designates a woman's style of dancing; also, kusheketa "to dance like the flames of a bushfire," or kulekwoka, "to thump like a heart in fear."

[4] Alluding to the title of Ilya Prigogine's famous "From Being to Becoming, Time and Complexity in Physical Science" I want to make the point that the Tshokwe's concept of reality is far from being "archaic," "magic," or "prescientific."

[5] By "formal teaching," I refer to a situation made up by a group of at least two persons--there may be more--one giving purposefully verbal or nonverbal instructions to another one, who consciously tries to perceive the message and to respond to it.

[6] Example from Schmidt-Wrenger (1979, vol. III, pp. 17, 30). (See Figure 1.)

[7] If, for example, an individual initiate does not respect a taboo, all members of the group are punished to make them feel their social responsibility.

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Chapter 9

Paideia Con Salsa: Ancient Greek Education for Active Citizenship and the Role of Latin Dance-Music in Our Schools

Charles Keil

I believe that the question of our time is how to stop the big nation states and multinational corporations from spreading the cancer of industrial civilization any further. The linked and rapid decline in the number of species and the number of cultures, rising extinction rates in the biosphere, and genocide/ethnocide rates in the human sphere must be halted and reversed if we want the human experiment to continue for more than another generation or so. We need to end the absurd superpower arms race. We need to reach some world consensus on population limits, self-determination of peoples, and modes of sharing basic resources. The list of major and urgent agenda items is long, but within the limits of this conference paper I want to focus on ways that music-dance and music-dance education might shape consciousness toward an agenda of world peace and justice through what might be called: (1) planned cultural layering from a Utopian or world government point of view; (2) biculturalism or triculturalism from an individual vantage point; (3) a complex problem of cultural sequencing from an educational perspective.

Recently I have been trying to find sponsors for a project to promote Latin music-dance in the primary schools of New York State today, the USA tomorrow, and eventually in that half of the wrold that might be called Greater Atlantic Post-Civilization. This culture area includes much of Africa, Europe, North and South America, as well as the Caribbean crucible that gave birth to Latin music as these countries have merged musically and culturally during the past five centuries and at a vastly accelerated pace during the past fifty years thanks to Yankee imperialism, the media, and music recordings. It is these rapidly changing social and economic conditions in our part of the world that require imaginative thinking about nurturing tricultural individuals through cultural sequencing in education toward a culturally layered world order.

If homo sapiens are ever going to get past "us" and "them" thinking and the deep psychopathologies of denial, splitting, displacement, and projection fostered constantly by state nationalisms that have given us two world wars, assorted "administrative massacres," and the stark promise of a war to end all wars in the near future, then many of us, especially those privileged white folks who profit most from planet rape, will have to develop at least two, probably three, layers of cultural awareness and loyalty. First, in relation to a local, satisfying, self-sufficient culture in depth where a passionate "us-ness" cannot lead to wars because it is small, localized--one of a great many such passions. Second, in relation to larger bio-regional or watershed cultures that seem to be shaping up as Atlantic and Pacific "rims" now but that might reshape themselves into smaller regions later. Finally, some cosmic consciousness or a thin layer of planetary culture will probably be required of some or all of us so that regions or the peoples within regions do not drift back into aggressing, aggrandizing, state-building, and empire-expanding. Clearly this is a Utopian vision but I believe we need one, and need to be taking modest steps toward making the vision a reality. The Latin music-dance curriculum is offered in this spirit, both as an interim or transitional program, a support for that growing regional awareness (that might help to subsume nation-states), and also as a path for getting to culturally rediversified post-civilization from where we are now.

Proposal

I would like to spend the next few years working with a small team of Latin music-dance experts to develop, test, and disseminate a full curriculum for the primary schools in the styles known as mambo, guanguanco, bolero, cha-cha, merengue, samba, bomba, plena, and related idioms.

In recent years budgetary exigencies have tended to eliminate music, arts, and sports from the schools at the very moment when they are most needed. How music, arts and sports came to be separated from each other and perceived as "extras" within Western society and its school systems is a long story (see Small, 1977) that could be spelled out in a fuller proposal, but for the moment I must ask you to share an assumption held by the ancient Greeks and every healthy culture that we know anything about, namely, that children require culturally validated education in what might be called "the three Ms"--music, motion, morality--in order to become whole persons--fully responsible and effective members of society. The unification and fine tuning of the full sensorium, perfecting mental-motor coordination in music, dance, arts, sports, achieving a personal style in shared modes of expression, these are the prerequisites for confidence and competence in other disciplines and more importantly, for the pursuit of truth and justice in the larger society.

The three Ms were the foundation of Greece's golden age. The small town of Athens--about 30,000 citizens who included Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Pericles, Herodotus, Hypocrites, Phidias, Thucydides, Timotheus, among others--educated its youth in music, motion, and morality: singing and reciting poetry; playing the aulos and kithara; speaking to persuade, debating issues of truth and justice in public; competing in sports; learning horsemanship; training for choral and dramatic presentations. It was a sound-mind-in-sound-body mode of education in which literacy, math, and sciences were the extras--later additions--the pursuits of someone who was already well educated. The Greek golden age was achieved in the rapid transition from an oral-aural culture to a literate-linear world-view. The world's best education systems have occurred when the two traditions were in balance and it is this balance we should be trying to restore in the schools.

Why Latin music-dance as the focal point for a restoration of Greek paideia?

1. It is the central tradition within all the Afro-European syntheses that have dominated 20th century music and dance and it has strong affinities with all the styles that children are already familiar with, for example, rock, jazz, reggae, disco, salsa, soul, funk.

2. It gives equal access to the old world European and African traditions and to new world stylistic developments in North and South America as well as in the Caribbean.

3. It speaks to the cultural background and predispositions of the two largest minorities most in need of improved public education opportunities, Afro-Americans and Hispanic-Americans, but moving beyond pluralism it lets everyone participate in a living tradition.

4. It requires equal facility in dancing, singing, drumming, and playing instruments.

5. Most important, it will encourage all students to create their own songs in various languages, choreograph their own dance variations, develop their own bands, stage, costume, and set their own music-dance-dramas as they become style conscious, morally aware teenagers.

A growing body of literature demonstrates this centrality of Latin music-dance styles in the broad Atlantic culture area that is rapidly becoming more visible and audible to everyone. John Roberts' Black Music of Two Worlds (1972) and The Latin Tinge (1979) represent a solid documentary beginning. Robert F. Thompson's books, Black Gods and Kings (1971), African Art in Motion (1974), Flash of the Spirit (1983) and a great mambo book in progress, as well as John Chernoff's African Rhythm and African Sensibility (1978) show the educational and moral power of the African side of this Afro-European synthesis. From the European side, a series of books have further challenged the steadily decaying influence of European musical models. Henry Pleasant's Serious Music and All That Jazz (1969), John Blacking's How Musical Is Man? (1972), Shepherd, Virden, Vulliamy and Wishart's Whose Music? (1977), and Christopher Small's Music-Society-Education (1977), taken together, suggest most forcibly that youth on four continents are fully justified in their deep involvement with Afro-European syntheses and their scorn for conventional music education in schools. Music educators have, by and large, failed to tap this vast reservoir of expressive power, much less provide the kind of strong guidance that would enable youth to grow into these styles rapidly and expertly.

That such growth is essential to moral awareness is something the Greeks comprehended with their concept of ethos, "the power of music to shape character." All the Afro-European syntheses contain utopian feelings about a better world tomorrow. They invite wholehearted participation rather than deepening alienation. They encourage improvisation on the basis of the ontological security that a living tradition provides. They require sensitivity to all other participants in a realm free of composers and conductors. They demand collective responsibility and individual expression simultaneously. Latin music-dance, because it is at the center of Afro-European hybrid vigor, is the proper vehicle for creating such an *ethos*. Once established, this character-shaping music-dance praxis will give students a desire for all the world's musics and a much deeper curiosity about the world in general--its history, geography, cultures, and languages. There should be many fruitful points of articulation between this program and other revitalization movements in the humanities. Dynamic participation in full, satisfying, integrated modes of expression prepares children for life, for further inquiry, for criticism, for understanding more intimately the humanity of others, and for reading and writing *about* "the humanities" in other times and places. It is only this process of primary participation that can take the quotation marks away from "the humanities" and prevent the learning process from becoming dogmatic and alienating.

I have been teaching classes in the Latin tradition for over twelve years now and have gradually learned how to help *anyone* become competent in these idioms, even after twenty or more years of "trained incapacity." Most music teachers welcome the release from the written procedures of Western music and college students feel varying degrees of liberation from the first class to the last, because it empowers them to do some of what they have been listening to for years. What I've come to call "chronic self-consciousness" can be cured in salsa praxis. "Macho" men loosen up. Women gain assertiveness. "Hyperkinetics" find a structure for their energies. Wonderful things happen each semester as everyone educates everyone else, bringing out the best in each other. But it always feels like remedial work and I have known for some years now that these processes really belong in the early learning years.

Assuming some financial support, how might "paideia con salsa" reach the schools? Experts in the Latin tradition can be found in all the major cities of the Eastern U.S. and in many cities of the West and Southwest as well. With a research and teaching team of four or five experts assembled, a strategy for developing a full primary school curriculum might be the following.

In the first year, discover how these styles are learned in situ, in the communities. Do children normally dance a style before they learn to drum it? In what order is it easiest to learn the percussion instruments? How do conga players gradually move from holding patterns to improvisation in each idiom? And so forth. We may already know the basic parts, but we need to perfect our understanding of sequential acquisition and traditional processes of cultural transmission. We might also want to deepen our understanding of roots and contexts with some field trips to centers like New York City, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

In the second year, test our understanding in pilot teaching projects at a variety of local schools to ascertain which approaches work best in classrooms. Wherever possible, we could check our results against: (a) control groups receiving conventional music education and physical education instruction and (b) control groups who are not receiving either.

In the summer of the second year we would offer the first in a series of eight-week summer institutes for pairs of teachers (presumably but not necessarily music education and physical education specialists) who would learn the curriculum primarily through plenty of hands-on and feet-on practice. In addition to morning and afternoon dance-music sessions, we would offer a daily lecture and seminar on the theory behind our practice and the sociocultural contexts that have nurtured these styles through the years.

Since the main point of the reforms I propose is to learn by doing rather than "viewing," I anticipate very little budget needed for equipment, recorders, videotapes, booklet preparations and the like. Some of this media work will be necessary to check our research perceptions and knowledge of the tradition as transmitted in the first year as well as for use as mnemonic devices in teaching the second year and in subsequent summer sessions. The strength of this proposal, however, is in bringing back an aural-oral-physical ethos to the schools, and any heavy reliance on literate or electronic media to sustain this process is dangerous. To be effective the teachers of this tradition must carry their knowledge in their hands, feet, bodies, and personalities and not in books, tapes, or other audio-visual aids.

Conclusion

The main criticism that my colleagues have directed against this proposal is that it takes the Ancient Greeks as an ideal or standard, ignoring the slavery-based economy and oppression of women in the city-states while implicitly pandering to the reactionary views that the golden age is behind us, Western civilization is the highest form of high culture, philosophy the noblest pursuit, and so forth. My defense is that the golden age I take as a reference point is a good century or more before Plato and Aristotle put us on the wrong path with their rationalism and alienating sciences (Small, 1977). My old Greece is filled with Hesiod's advice to his brother and Pythagoras' wholistic health rites. It is the Greece that valued ethical qualities more than intellectual ones, oral poetry more than written prose, and where musical and athletic competitions were all of education for some generations. I will defend the old ancient Greece right up to the point where the sophists gave us the concept of paideia--the ideal and theory of culture, consciously formed and pursued. The sophists wanted to substitute rhetoric for music and poetry in their paideia while the philosophers wanted to replace music and poetry with ideas, forms, abstractions, definitions of concepts, in short, philosophy! And that is where the Greeks lost it. (We are still lost between sophists at the education schools and their psycho-pedagogical-statistical rhetoric about how to do it and measure it on the one hand and the philosophers in the humanities who theorize about the why of doing it on the other hand. It is a wonderful system in which both sides can babble on about the how and the why of it without ever having to actually do it at all.) The way I understand the "end of the Renaissance" and the "end of Western civilization" is that we have to take back paideia from the sophists and from Plato and the philosophers of hierarchy as well. We have to be wise rather than "love wisdom," be fully human rather than humanists, more peripatetic and less pedantic, do music, dance, poetry, drama and do them together, rather than theorize about their forms so much and in isolation from each other.

From Werner Jaeger (1945, p. xxvii):

> They considered that the only genuine forces which could form the soul were *words* and *sounds*, and--so far as they work through words or sounds or both--*rhythm* and *harmony*: for the decisive factor in all paideia is active energy, which is even more important in the culture of the mind than in the *agon* which exercises physical strength and agility.

Sounds good to me. The fact that these values were intially espoused by an aristocracy, and a patriarchal, war-loving, slave-holding one at that, does not bother me so much because appropriate technology can replace the oppressed and our *arete* or honor can be given to heroes and heroines in the struggles for peace, justice, and equality. Our competitions can be in music, dance, sports, gymnastics, drama, poetry, once we have broken up the big nation-states and multinational corporations, putting the vain quests for power and profit behind us once and for all.

How the conscious pursuit of regional culture through *paideia con salsa* can be articulated and balanced against the needs for deeper local culture is another complex question that must be answered differently in each locality. Indigenous tradition or traditions, where they exist, should always take priority in primary schools, it seems to me. Gaining control of the "mother tongue" in language, music, dance, sports, at an early age in neighborhood schools should be an obvious priority in, for example, rural Quebec, the solid ethnic neighborhoods of Toronto or Buffalo, certain valleys in Yorkshire or in Appalachian West Virginia. Pride in local language or dialect should be a prerequisite for broader regional culture acquisition in middle or junior high school and explorations of planetary consciousness in high schools and colleges.

More typically, however, there is neither one culture in depth to draw upon in a primary school nor two or three competing mother tongues to work with, but rather a diversity of variably washed-out ethclass traditions and a considerable amount of what Sapir called "spurious" culture, that is, mass mediated monoculture, guiding the thoughts and feelings of students while a similarly diluted solution of bourgeois or high culture guides the thoughts and feelings of teachers. It is in the midst of this high culture/mass culture muddle where children are confused and teachers no longer muster much conviction that the living styles of Latin dance-music have the greatest contribution to make by establishing the basis not only of regional culture, but the skills for rebuilding the local *ethos* along unique neo-tribal trajectories. The open processes of classless society hocketing, egalitarian call and response singing, improvisatory drumming, flexibility of instrumentation, and so on, potentiate but do not dictate the shape of future developments in a reunified music-dance-poetry-drama (Keil, 1982). Contingent on the rates and depths of change in the rest of society, a huge contingency to be sure, local cultures in depth could easily emerge from these participatory processes. At least the dead hands of high culture and mass culture will not be choking such potentials as they do at present.

Two important points became clearer to me during the symposium at Wesleyan: (1) dance is fundamental, primary; and (2) children can and should be moving with the music a lot at a very early age. So a way around the irrational fixation on the three Rs may be to focus our energies on motion, music, and morality during the peak learning years, ages two to six. Plenty of dance, song, and love before the proponents of "serious disciplines" get their hands on the children might save the planet yet. If we do our pre-Kindergarten work well, energized first graders may simply refuse to sit at desks or stare into screens hour after hour and parents may demand for them more of the active energy, character, and culture building paideia they deserve.

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Chapter 10

Process of Transmission: Music Education and Social Inclusion

Carol E. Robertson

Performance practice and competence are intrinsic to the development of concepts of self and others in most human groups. At the core of understanding musical knowledge and its impact on the social experience are those processes whereby values, beliefs, and social behaviors are transmitted. The obvious recipients of these codes of information and adjustment are children, yet the literature of ethnomusicology has seldom touched upon the musical and social realities of the young. Studies that do treat children as significant bearers of culture suggest that the acquisition and mastery of certain repertoires is an important part of maturation in most societies.[1]

In this essay, I will examine some of the variables in the transmission of cultural knowledge through performance as they apply to two distinct cultures in two drastically different ecological settings--the flat, savannah grasslands of northern Ghana and the arid mountain ranges of central Argentina. Observations will be distilled from field research among the Kassena-Nankani (Ghana, 1973-74, 1977) and the Mapuche (Argentina, 1972-73, 1978, 1980-81).[2] In some cases, an understanding of how play and performance lead to social maturation is due to my own daughter's participation in these activities in Ghana and in the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood in Washington, D.C. In both of these settings, Vanessa's inclusion into a new peer group was partly dependent on her mastery of certain song and dance formulae that identified her as an insider, even though she was a newcomer to these cultural traditions. Grasping these peer tests of competence and their concomitant dynamics of social inclusion as a parent has enabled me to interpret comparable data in the role of ethnomusicologist.

But my goal is not purely descriptive. I believe that the processes at work in the two cases noted below affect us all at different points in our experience of cultural realities. Moreover, I will argue that the nature of music as a form of communication allows for a density of message coding and of "teaching" metaphors that encourages the assimilation of complex social explanations and of multi-layered units of information about the environment and the strategies needed to control or master that environment. Finally, I will suggest some ways in which the data gleaned from other cultures may be implemented in our own approaches to the teaching of social realities through performance.

Social Competence, Kin Grouping, and Performance: The Kassena-Nankani

In her widely disputed studies of Samoan childrearing, Margaret Mead (1973) insisted that, as a result of communal childrearing, Samoan youngsters did not establish a dependent or exclusive bonding with their parents. Rather, Mead wrote, they formed an identification with a large group of adults through which they could gain sustenance and cultural knowledge. Derek Freeman (1983) has refuted Mead's study through the "nature versus nurture" argument, contending that Samoan children do bond with the adult who is most directly responsible for their survival. The dichotomy within the Mead-Freeman argument can be resolved by looking at children and their socialization process through a less simplistic or absolute lens.

The Kassena-Nankani of northern Ghana live in compounds of several nuclear families that trace their genealogies to the senior male of the compound and his ancestors. Since a man may take several wives--each of whom is assigned a separate set of rooms looking out on a common courtyard--children grow up with siblings who may have the same father and different mothers. They are required to treat their co-mothers and uncles with the respect accorded all elders. Though they may be disciplined by any of the adults in the compound, they depend on their mothers to look after their interests and to bring them to the notice of their fathers. In a household where a senior male may have 13 wives and over 50 children, being noticed by one's father is essential to receiving advanced education or funds for business investments.

Co-wives work cooperatively in producing shea-butter, weaving mats, delivering children, working garden plots (when the drought allows for such labor), building and painting traditional dwellings, and making medicines. Their main point of competitiveness arises over steering the attention of their husbands towards specific progeny. So at least in this regard, it is the responsibility of mothers to encourage their offspring in activities that will bring notice to them as individuals. A mother may take keen notice if her child has a penchant for telling stories (all of which include a signature song), or imitating praise-singers, or dancing the community-wide jongo suites, or imitating the melodies of the wia flutes, or beating out the rhythms of the calabash drums used for narrative singing. She will then encourage the child by commenting on his/her competence or setting the stage wherein her child's talent will be noticed. In this context, performance is a clear road to bringing attention to one's self amidst an entire generation of children who recognize each other as brothers and sisters.

Mothers who are adept at telling stories or singing will actively teach their talented children to imitate the adult performance behavior surrounding them. Akentara, a recognized story teller in the compound of the chief of

Pungu where I lived for several months in 1973-74, was able to gather a wide audience for her evening narratives. She inevitably set aside a moment when her eldest son, Godfred (then nine years old), could tell his version of some of the most popular stories. Godfred tended to play on the humor of the stories, and improvised his own songs based on the models he had learned from his mother and other story tellers. He practiced at first on his own peer group, refining materials that were then presented to the whole compound, including the men who usually would sit outside the compound in the evening, but who would come into the courtyard to hear the acclaimed humor of this particular boy.

The peer group plays an important didactic role among the Kassena, as it does in most societies. Children acquire knowledge through many sources, often adapting performance materials to their own resources and needs. Though children learn, revise, and invent many games for themselves, they spend many an evening imitating the social behaviors of adults. The jongo dance suite is the most ubiquitous form of entertainment and performance of the Kassena-Nankani. A great deal of sociality--from the marketplace to the marriage celebration—is marked by jongo performance. The main jongo ensemble (in the sense that it is the most widely heard by all constituents of the 13 sub-chieftaincies under the town of Navrongo) resides in the palace of the Navro-Pio, or paramount chief. The royal drummers perform on market days and on special occasions such as Christmas and Boxing Day. Other jongo ensembles are identified with the many sub-chieftaincies and with school groups, some of which vie for placement in national dance competitions. Jongo performance is widely imitated by children, though they recognize it as an adult repertoire.

When performed by adults, jongo generally includes four cylindrical drums (gulu), an hourglass pressure drum (gunguna) and a set of seven flutes (wia). The cylindrical gulu set the patterned framework for the dance steps; the "talking" gunguna supplies counter rhythms of commentary on the musicians and the dangers; the wia execute signature tunes that can change constantly within performance. Tunes are usually recognized by a text that is not sung, but is known by musicians and other participants. The unsung text is important, for it serves as a way of identifying each tune and the ways in which the tune will be distributed among the flutes.

It is also an important didactic and mnemonic device for children as they begin to learn the various tunes inserted in jongo performance. Children often use different texts than do adults in identifying signature tunes. Thus, children attending English-speaking schools may substitute the usual words of the tune in Figure 1 with the text, "From Kandiga to this place."

The seven flutes are considered hard to master. Some adults claim that, although the drums may be played only by men of specific houses during funerals, the flutes present a greater technical challenge. Each flute has three finger holes. Some players close off the bottom hole, limiting their range to only three notes. Since Kassena-Nankani theory lacks the constraints of tempered scales and standardized pitch, the melody produced by a flute ensemble will delineate a general pattern that could change if performed on another set of flutes. No two flute ensembles are tuned the same way--even if housed in the same compound or made by the same man. Thus, the pattern and note exchange system must be adapted to each set of instruments. A melody, though played by seven flutes, is divided into three performance parts, which are distributed into the three flute groupings in a hocketing technique.

Figure 1. Signature Melody.

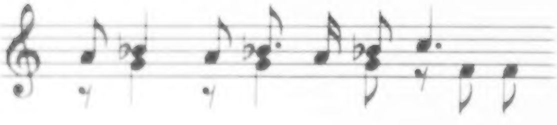

Figure 1: Signature Melody

Figure 2. Flute Parts.

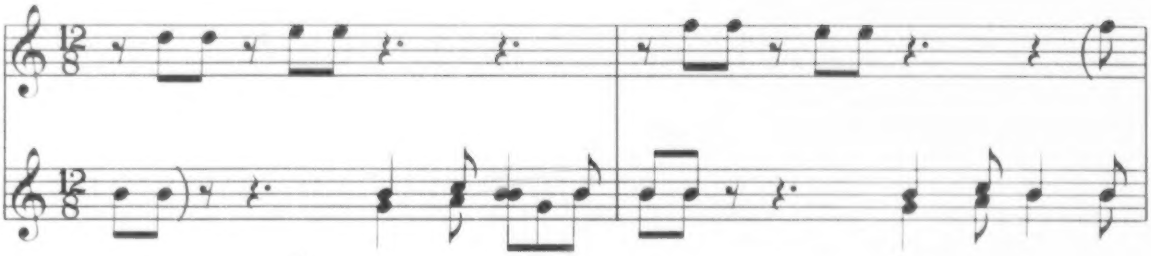

Figure 2: Flute Parts

Thus, the novice must learn not only the tune, but the grouping of tones appropriate to each melody. An example of this structure is illustrated in Figure 2.

Although children are not allowed to play the flutes until they reach adolescence, they integrate *jongo* performance into many of their play activities. That is, they begin to perform *jongo* by the time they learn to walk; but the only instruments they use until much later are their own bodies. My own initiation into an understanding of the structure of *jongo* came through children performing in just this way. Children are not taught the structure of *jongo* by adults, yet they find ways of teaching each other how to divide into drumming and flute-playing groups. The characteristic strokes of drumming are executed through thigh and arm slapping--often hitting each other on the buttocks to emphasize a beat (and eliciting laughter from the older children and tears from the younger siblings). Children who imitate flutes (surprisingly matching the timbre of the *wia*) do so by blowing air through their cupped hands and twisting their torsos as adult flute players often do.

Imitative performances of *jongo* offer an early childhood opportunity for improvisation. The performance behaviors of children mirror what they see in social transactions focusing on adults. The latter context is also marked by references to courtship, kinship, genealogies, and social authority. *Jongo* dancing is often done in pairs. Thus, it is common for two women or two men to enter the dance arena, execute the complex coordinations of rhythm, posture, and facial expression, and end their dance pattern with a gesture that challenges someone in the audience to outdo their performance. Thus, *jongo* uses musical and bodily competence to challenge others and to set the stage for social relations. As astute observers of some of the more "subtle" manipulations of adults, children are unabashed in dancing out and commenting upon individuals who court or criticize others through dance. Since in the context of performance competence brings praise and some status, children learn to manipulate their own *jongo* performances towards themselves. But they also learn how to perform in ensemble, for the hocketing techniques and complex rhythms of *jongo* suites requires a keen sense of coordination with others.

Competence in performance is regarded somewhat separately from competence in composition. Among the Kassena-Nankani, certain kinds of artistic production require much more than skill. Metal casting, ivory carving, blacksmithing, and composition fall into a common category that distinguishes them from dancing, instrumental performance, leather working, architecture, basket weaving, and the weaving of strip-cloth. After many months of searching for a Kassena-Nankani aesthetic and criterion for competence, I realized that the main difference in employing aesthetic criticism hinged on the grouping of artistry into two categories that are defined by the *source* that guides artistic production. The term *goɣo* is applied to persons who perform an activity with skill.[3] There are two kinds of *goɣo*: *goɣo zamse*, or learned/apprenticed skill; and *goɣo kotore*, or the "gift" and responsibility of production as dictated by a supernatural source. Generally, composers must belong to the category of *goɣo kotore*, for their art is legitimized by the fact that each successful composer is said to have been cuaght by a spirit. This special protective spirit requires a shrine, which can be inherited through one's kin (traced through either one's mother or one's father), and must be invoked before pursuing any creative act. All composers who receive retribution and reconition for their works state that they were "caught by the spirit" of composition, which is usually associated with rivers (of which there are very few in this drought-ridden area). All such composers are male.

However, many persons compose and publicly present their work without the association with or shrine for composition. Thus, while *in theory* a composer must be *caught* by the source that defines him as *kotore*, most people who create songs are apprenticed *zamse*. Since music is one of those forces that can be dangerous to the user because of its inherent power to change perceptions and natural balances, *zamse* composers may not approach "deep" topics, such as witchcraft or the recitation of genealogies. They are also excluded from performances at the burial rites of senior males, whose passing is marked by a rite that transforms them into ancestors.[1]

A mother may recognize that one of her children is unusually adept in the recognition and elaboration of musical and/or dance patterns, but she will not be able to discern whether this aptitude is *zamse* or *kotore*-bound. The *kotore* calling usually occurs during adulthood--and is always directed toward a person who is already recognized as competent in some area of performance. Thus, in *practice*, all composers start out as *zamse*; and later on, some take on the added legitimization of *goɣo kotore*, which allows them to speak to issues and participate in activities that carry precarious and extraordinary power. Although kin reckoning is mediated through the male line, apprenticeship often involves kin in the maternal line. If a mother wishes to encourage musical development, she will often arrange for her son(s) to spend time with a relative in her father's line who is recognized as a master musician. Young women who perform and compose have usually learned their craft through one of the males in their compound. Once they marry and leave the compound, they will find a singing partner in their new dwelling.

Performance pairing is an important consideration in Kassena-Nankani musical life. All composers teach their works to a cohort, who accompanies the composition with an additional instrument and vocal part. Even in groups of three musicians, only one of them is considered the "composer," and only two of the performers sing each song. This kind of cooperation in performance is seized upon by children, who are already paired into age-mate units that assist each other with delicing, hair platting, work chores, and performance. These same-gender couples often dance together during *jongo* suites. Upon reaching adulthood, these pairings are often altered, according to changes in residence. But even then, the performance context is often used so that an adult may challenge a former age-mate through competitive dancing. Children learn about kin association through performance. Perhaps even more significantly, they learn competence through peer contact and criticism; for paired performers serve an auto-corrective and reflective function. Children learn by contrasting themselves with their partner, larger peer group, and the adult environment that they are imitating.

In this context, a child's "selfhood" is defined by the ability to draw attention to one's self through the social action of public performance, the mirroring of one's self against a specific peer, the criticism and performance support of a larger peer group, and the recognition obtained from adults through the demonstration of performance competence. The ability of children to reduce the complexities of *jongo* performance to *the body as a musical instrument* allows them to understand the musical and social behavior that is the basis of their maturation in this social setting. Moreover, the patterns of social relationships realized through *jongo* choreographies create a model of interaction that illustrates how individuals fit into the web of society. This kind of cognitive reinforcement is especially possible in situations where performance is recognized and utilized as a viable means of socialization. For here performance employs structures that teach children the dynamics of their environment and provide habits of interpretation for cultural information and personal experience.

Among the Kassena-Nankani, childhood is defined in relation to adulthood as a rehearsal stage in which the realities of adult action and responsibility inform the molding of individuals into social beings. Performance codes many of the patterns of cooperation and tension in daily and ceremonial life into sonic and movement patterns that locate children in the fabric of kinship and public life. Collapsing a major repertoire into a childhood reduction and subjecting that structure to peer scrutiny provides children with a sophisticated means whereby they can hone their performance competence and observational techniques.

Analogous situations in which music *is* the educator exist in many parts of the globe. Blacking (1967) has documented the significance of a children's vocal repertoire among the Venda. Feld (1984) has written about songs among the Kaluli of New Guinea that gain significance because of the contained information on the jungle environment and how to survive it. Although most enthomusicologists have preferred to study adults, those who have turned to children as their teachers have found in the music of infancy a blueprint for participation in sociality. During childhood, performance is a vehicle for testing competence on many grounds--some of which we might regard as non-musical. During adulthood, performance is a vehicle for stating levels of relationship, asserting individuality within the constraints set by both peers and adults, and setting forth the core principles of public behavior.

The contexts and parameters of transmission are greatly affected by variables of ecological setting, modes of production, historical assimilation, socially perceived hierarchies (be they based on gender, age, kinship, status, or access to knowledge and goods), notions of competence, and habits of interpretation. Performance affords a level of abstraction or level of social discourse that readily allows for dense semantic coding. Though child performers may not be aware of some of the more subtle undertones of the behaviors they are enacting, they are assimilating a structure of signs and meanings that set the stage for the future development of knowledge. Thus, learning and sociality can be layered onto the grids woven by performance, and peer approval can be stretched into domains that affect other modes of and needs for cultural competence.

Many cultures that rely primarily on oral transmission use performance as a form of "schooling." The Kassena-Nankani use *jongo* and the many other childhood repertoires as didactic strategies for enculturation. But what of those cultures that hold no formal music/dance sessions? How does a child achieve musical/social competence in situations where music is learned, but not taught? The phenomenon of kin-linked vocal repertoires and ritual participation among the Mapuche of Andean Argentina points to another way of understanding the acquisition of musical knowledge and social inclusion among human populations.

Singing Social Boundaries into Place: Mapuche Ritual Performance

Until the beginning of this century, the Mapuche were known as five different ethnic groups that practiced nomadic pastoralism, spoke separate languages, and were governed by a council of elders that gave power to the military during times of war. Defeat and subjugation by the Argentine army led to the restrictions of reservation life, the enforcement of agriculture in desert lands, consolidation into a "Mapuche" identity, the appointment of hereditary chiefs, and the standardization of ritual practice among all five cultural groups.

Unlike the Kassena-Nankani, the Mapuche are monogamous, live in small groups of 300 to 800 persons per reservation, build households around a nuclear family of parents and unwed children, have no central market towns, and gather socially only two or three times a year. Children from different households see each other only during school (only 50% of the children on reservations attend Spanish schools) and during ritual gatherings. The main settings for socialization and public performance are the springtime branding parties--a tradition inherited from the *gauchos* of the pampa grasslands--and the annual rite of increase known as *ŋiyipún*.

Just as we isolated the *jongo* dance suite as a point of entry to the dynamics of transmission among the Kassena-Nankani, we will now focus on the *ŋiyipún* as a key to understanding performance and sociality among the Mapuche. Although the *ŋiyipún* is a rite through which the adult community approaches the deities and ancestors of each lineage for recognition and favor, the main events of this rite are led by four children. Two *piwichén* (sacred youths) and two *kalfumalen* (blue maidens) are said to lead or preside over the ceremony, under the guidance of a female shaman who controls ritual power in all actions directed toward the supernatural. These four youngsters are chosen for their roles by the chief and remain in office for four years. During that time, they become *piwichén* and *kalfumalén* only for the duration of the *ŋiyipún*.

The sacred youths represent Ilche Wentru, the son of Elchen Chau and Elchen Kushé (Old Man and Old Woman, who inhabit the middle of the sky). Ilche Wentrú was the primordial male ancestor of the Mapuche. The blue maidens represent Ilche Domó, the wife/sister of Ilche Wentru. The pairing of these beings in ceremonial representation depicts the dual facets of the original ancestors: their human qualities of procreation and their supernatural attributes as children of F'ta Chau and Ñuke Mapu. F'ta Chau (Great Man) and Ñuke Mapu (Mother Earth) are a "humanized" form of the old man and woman in the middle of the sky. These beings are referred to as F'ta Chau and Ñuke Mapu when their parenthood and responsibility for their human descendants is being acknowledged. The binary character of being gods and being parents provides a link between the supernatural pantheon, the primordial ancestors, and their contemporary children on earth. The umbilical cord of procreation is evident in the prayer of Carmen Arango, an octogenerian from the community of Quila Quina:

> ... We entreat the parents, F'ta Chau and Nuke Mapu, and their children Capitán and the Virgin, who are the first of us Mapuche. From these children, Capitán and his wife, it is that we come--for this reason They left this rogation, which they call niyipun, so we could see the things of the past. (26 September, 1971)

In communities that have had continuous contact with mission schools and the Roman Catholic clergy since the turn of the century, Ilche Wentru is sometimes called Capitan. This Spanish word conveys the significance of the *piwichén* as leaders of the *ŋiyipún*, a ceremony given to the forefathers in past time by Capitan (or Ilche Wentru) and his wife. In these communities, Ilche Domo may be called Angela (angel) or La Virgen (the Virgin). In this case, Christian terminology has been incorporated into the nomenclature of supernatural hierarchies. These borrowings still convey the notion of primogeniture and leadership projected from the first ancestors, through their descendants, to the contemporary *piwichén* and *kalfumalén*.

The *piwichén* and *kalfumalén* must be chosen from those youngsters who are entering puberty. Thus, they usually range from ten to sixteen years of age. All four protagonists are chosen to begin their duties during the same year, and end their service with the fourth *ŋiyipún* of this cycle.

The selection criteria for these roles are recognized maturity, endurance, responsibility, and horsemanship for the *piwichén*. Endurance is essential, for the ceremony lasts for three days and two nights of intense cold. Maturity and responsibility are important in that the four youngsters must follow complex procedures and instructions without questioning or speaking to any other participants in the *ŋiyipún*. During long periods of time, and especially during the night, the *piwichén* must sit far to the east of the ritual ground, looking straight ahead at the eastern horizon, where all supplications and ritual performances are directed.

Outside of the context of the *ŋiyipún*, these four ritual actors are recognized as having the same lineage soul and lineage song as any other member of their kin unit. However, during the time when they participate in the *ŋiyipún* and *piwichén* and *kalfumalen* they are addressed with the *tayil* (lineage spirit song) of the sky (*wenu tayil*). *Wenu tayil* identifies these youths with the time of the ancestors. It is this *tayil* that is associated with the supernatural and that verbalizes the shared spirit of all cardinal deities, of F'ta Chau and Nuke Mapu, and of Ilche Wentru and Ilche Domó. A crucial point in the ceremony is reached during the third and final day of ritual celebration. Toward the end of the ceremony, after the chief has gone off to the east and prayed for his people privately, the *piwichén* and *kalfumalén*, who have thus far been excluded from rogations and supplications, circle around the alter and fill their own bowls with blood from sacrificial lambs. Then they state their own adjuration as humans/supernaturals four times, always returning to the sacrificed animals and refilling their bowls for each rogation. The *witakultruntufe*, or ritual specialist of one community explained this moment as a pivotal point in this prolonged rite of transcendence:

> ... It is at that moment that we are with the ancestors. There we have *wenú tayil*, which only I (as *witakultruntufe*) can direct. It is from there that the *kalfumalén* come to be the same thing as Ilche Domó; they are the very same thing. That is why they (the *kalfumalén*) go to the

> rogations for all of us, for they can be in the same place as Elchen Chau and Elchen Kushe. And I, because of the power They have given me to see what only I can see, can be there also. (Malleo, May 1972)

The main responsibility of these four children is to provide a link between the living and the dead. Their performance responsibilities are those of leadership. The *piwichén* carry with them two *pifilkas*, which are played during the dance sequences of the *ŋiyipún* rite. *Pifilkas* are double chambered, over-blown flutes, the pitch of which can be varied according to the amount of water poured into each resonating chamber. The *piwichén* perform on *pifilkas* that are housed with other sacred instruments in the rafters of the chief's house. Younger boys dancing behind the *piwichén* may fashion their own *pifilkas* out of bamboo stalks. The outer length of the ritual flutes averages seven inches, and the resonating chambers average five inches. The instruments are not meant to produce any particular pitch, but rather to play an undulating pattern above the lineage songs and dance songs performed by the women. No particular skill is required to play these flutes as they are used today, though many elders assert that in olden times, the *pifilkas* were made to sing like birds (the lineage souls of the dead are said to ascend to heaven like "hawks of the sun").[4] The *kalfumalen*, accompanied by the female shaman, lead the women around the altar in performances of the *ŋiyipún*—specific *öl* repertoire and in those songs of lineage souls, deemed essential to all ritual: *tayil*.

Living and waking in Mapuche households has shown me that children are encouraged from a very early age to remember their dreams and to code them into some kind of song pattern. Most dreams deemed significant by the Mapuche involve traveling. Children are often asked to describe the places they visited in their dreams, noting natural phenomena and spirit encounters that mark their dream path. Since the Mapuche consider that one's lineage soul leaves the body only at death and that the second, individual soul often leaves the body of its owner and travels on its own, understanding dream pathways is crucial to keeping track of the wanderings of personal souls. When an individual dies, the lineage soul ascends to the ancestors, and the personal soul begins a long journey over mountains and streams that will eventually lead it to the land of the ancestors and the gateway to the sky world. The vocal repertoire performed during the *ŋiyipún* rite is structured according to the path that each individual must take at death.

This sung soul-map, called *tayil*, is made up of four phrases. The melodic contour of each phrase traces the turns, ascents, and contortions that the soul must make in each phase of this four-part pilgrimage. *Tayil* is a repertoire that may only be performed by women, who as life-givers, have direct access to the ancestors. Each lineage is characterized by a specific *tayil*—an identifiable melodic contour and a ritual text that identifies the totem of each family. *Tayil* performance is seen as the only way of communicating with the deities and ancestors, who otherwise lend a deaf ear to humanly produced sounds. Thus, each ritual action requires the performance of *tayil* so that sacred acts can be brought to the attention of supernaturals. A man may pray before the altar, but unless a woman of his lineage stands behind him and literally "pulls" (*entún*) the song of his lineage soul out of his back and into the open while he prays, his words will fall to the earth. In this setting, *tayil* performance is crucial to ritual participation.

It is conceivable that a child might learn tayil performance by listening year after year to her kinswomen as they execute the appropriate lineage songs in the yearly rites of increase. However, the conceptualization of tayil is such that each performance is considered an individual event. Though three or four women may stand together and "pull" the same tayil, they are in no way compelled to perform in unison. Indeed, they may begin on different pitches and perform their own version of the lineage song at whatever speed they choose. Moreover, tayil is often sung simultaneously with the öl repertoire, though the two are not presented in synchrony. Figure 3 shows what individual performances of tayil might sound like, and Figure 4 shows the "sound matrix" within which tayil appears during ŋiyipún rites.

A child always hears either an individually ornamented or a communally textured rendition of tayil. Though each adult performer may offer her tayil with many elaborations, each phrase usually consists of only two or three tones that are essential to the character of each particular lineage song. Thus, the tayil transcribed can be reduced to the essential structure shown in Figure 5.[5]

Although each child will hear many versions of each lineage tayil, including her own, she will also hear a stable and consistent pattern undergirding each rendition of tayil. This skeletal system is also accessible to a child who is not being "taught" to sing tayil because it conforms to the binary relationship of shape (or form) and text (or spirit name). Moreover, each tayil consists of four phrases, and four is the minimal unit in Mapuche mathematics. One is but a quarter of the first complete number. All weaving patterns taught to female children from an early age, are based on units of four. Designs are conceived in multiples of four. So keen is the perception of four as the basic unit, that a Mapuche girl can deftly sweep up 32 strands of wool from her loom at a glance.

Through dreams and manual activities, Mapuche females are taught to build various abstractions upon the same basic pattern. Textiles are often woven in "pairs" that hold but a small degree of sameness to the Western eye. Design, color sequence, and wool texture may be quite distinct within these pairs, yet they are sold as part of one total picture. Here the concept of "sameness" is based on the fact that both textiles have been derived from the same abstract pattern—an image that exists only in the mind of the weaver.

The same kind of derivation holds for tayil. Though young girls are never really taught to "pull out the spirit" of the ancestors, they do acquire through every day living the basic sense of structure required by tayil and by most other structures perceived and enforced by the Mapuche.

A woman is expected to know her own tayil, inherited from her father's father, as well as the tayil of her other three grandparents. Since a man's actions are impotent without the validation and conveyance of tayil, he must seek a wife who has inherited the right to perform his lineage song through one of her four grandparents. Thus, young girls often pay strict attention to the execution of the tayil of a young man they are interested in having as a suitor or lover. While working with school-aged children on the reservation of Zaina Yegua, I came across the following letter, written by a thirteen-

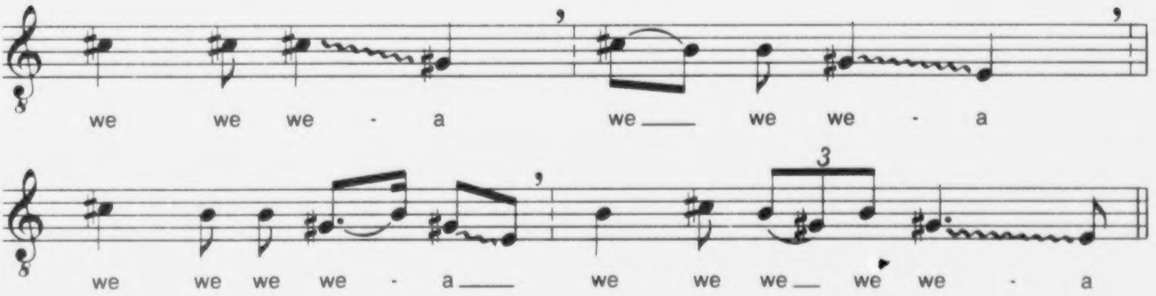
we we we - a we we we - a
we we we we - a we we we we we we - a

Figure 3a: Ufisa (sheep) tayil. Tomasa Epulef, Zaina Yegua

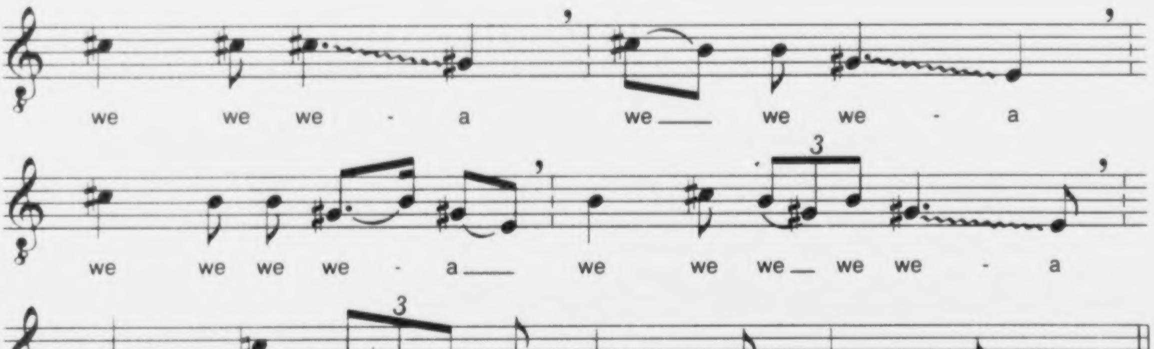
we we we - a we we we - a
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Figure 3b: Ufisa (sheep) tayil. Tomasa Epulef, Zaina Yegua

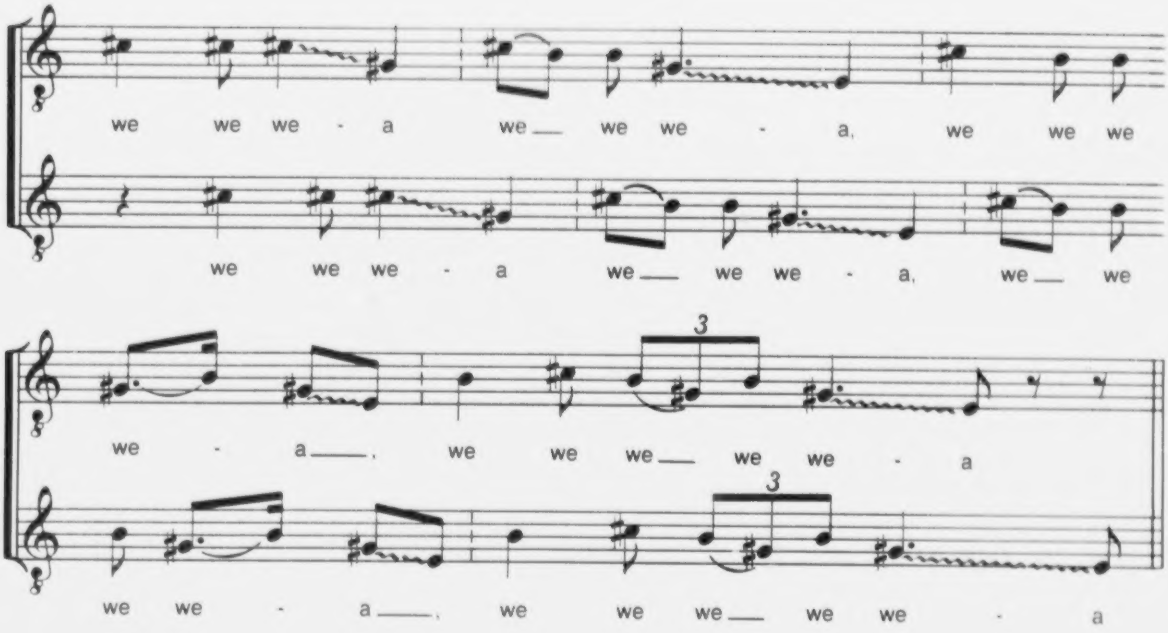
we we we - a we we we - a, we we we
we we we - a we we we - a, we we
we - a, we we we we we - a
we we - a, we we we we we - a
3
3

Figure 4a: Ufisa (sheep) tayil

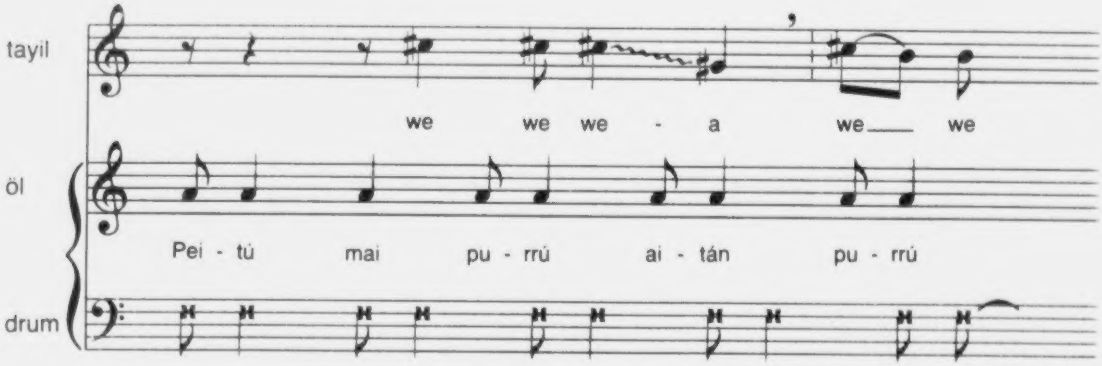
tayil
öl
drum
we we we - a we we
Pei - tú mai pu - rrú ai - tán pu - rrú

Figure 4b

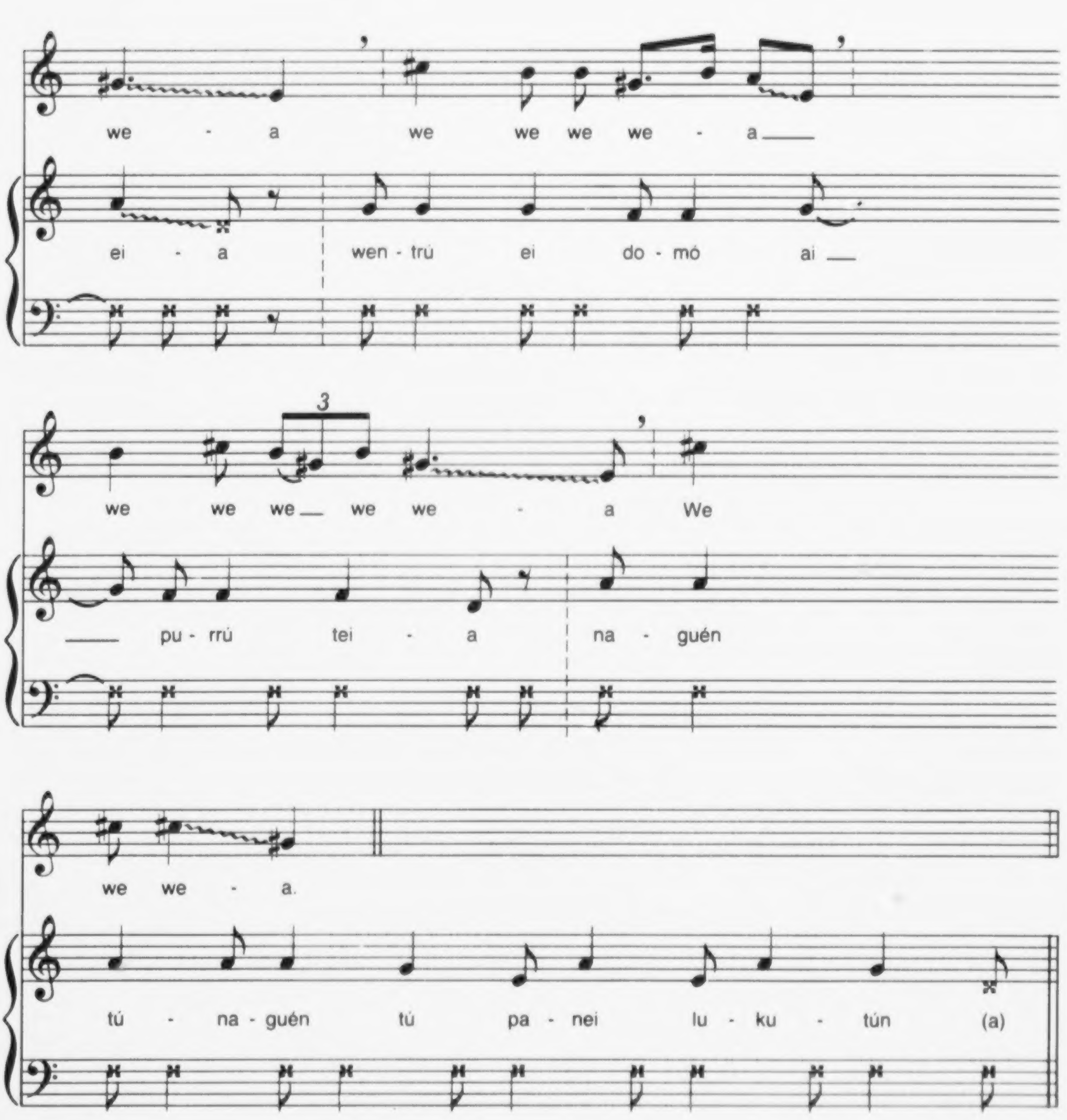
we - a we we we we - a
ei - a wen - trú ei do - mó ai
3
we we we we we - a We
pu - rrú tei - a na - guén
we we - a.
tú - na - guén tú pa - nei lu - ku - tún (a)

Figure 4b (continued)

year-old boy to the eleven-year-old *kalfumalén* who had helped lead the *ŋiyipún* the week before.

> My very dear Celinilla Cheuquepán:
>
> I would like to have love relations with you. I was very admiring of your beautiful blue dresses during the *ŋiyipún*, and the way you danced with the grown women all day. Towards the end, when I approached where you were, knowing that it was forbidden we should speak, I heard you pull out the *tayil* of my father. I was not aware that you knew about the soul of my father, which is as mine. But my sisters say that we are related through my father and your mother's mother, so we can marry into the same. When I knew that you had this *tayil* also, I decided to dance *lonkomeo* for you next year, if you will pull my eagle *tayil* and throw water to cool me. I am then wanting very much to see you and to have amorous words with you. Signed: Segundo Epullán. (March 1972)

Although the process and context of performance distinguish the Mapuche from the Kassena-Nankani, certain commonalities allow for the recognition of music and dance as significant phenomena that mold maturation and set the rules for full participation in social and ritual life. First, performance is recognized in these societies as an important way of *acting out* the dynamic between self and others. Performance competence is equated in both settings with social competence, and the didactic and pedagogic potentials of both forms of participation are weighed against each other in ways that make children want to master musical information. Moreover, performance is maximized in these societies for a good part of what it is: an effective means of coding information about the environment and about "how to cope." Adding movement onto this structure trains the body, as well as the mind and spirit, to respond to complex social realities through abstractions of "order." Finally, peer input and pressure reinforce the need of growing individuals to know and use performance in ways that are relevant to daily life.

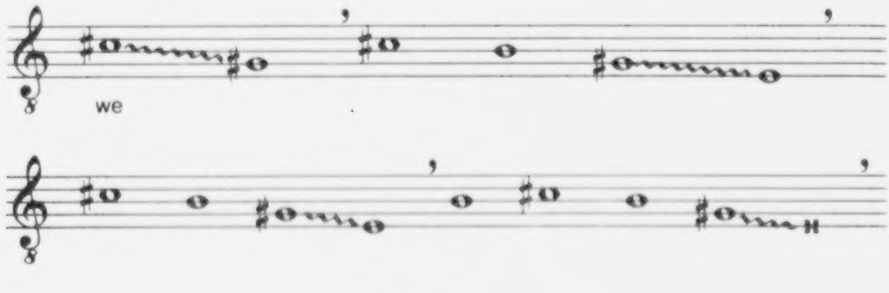

Figure 5: *Ufisha* (sheep) *tayil* contour

The Pattern that Connects

The dynamics of performance, transmission, and social inclusion evident in these two case studies raise several issues of relevance to educators, researchers, and to children as valued members of society. The success of performance as a pedagogic device among the Kassena-Nankani and the Mapuche is due, in part, to the utilization of music as a phenomenon that can draw on many domains of knowledge. Cultural synthesis through performance is possible when the repertoires available to children connect patterns of sound and motion with patterns of sociality, value, and belief. The link between performance and social relevance can be approached through some of the discussion topics summarized below.

1. Music and movement seem most effective when linked to each other and to information that reveals something about the social or ecological environment in which children must act. If we are to take this notion to heart, we must decide what it is that we want children to *know* about the world they live in. If we are to use the revelation of values that can be accomplished through music, we must face the dilemma of those social values that are to be transmitted or critiqued through performance. In many instances, performance is a way of inverting social patterns such as gender relationships, power structures, and group conflicts.

2. Performance can afford a child the assertion of individuality and creativity within a group effort. For this reason alone, we might do well to put more emphasis on childhood composition. Decisions must be made about the kinds of musical materials we can expose children to. Do we want to insist that they learn the music of the European elite, or are we willing to teach music competence through the materials immediately available to children? Can we educate ourselves to use salsa, or Michael Jackson, or break dancing, or every day percussive objects, or jump rope games as sources for teaching the mastery of musical patterns? It seems that the most effective teaching can be accomplished by enhancing what children already seem to know. Young *jongo* dancers take their cues from the adult repertoire around them. *Tayil* singers distill their versions of lineage songs from the four-part structures present in other kinds of activities. If children are to be led to compose (rather than "taught" through the enforcement of conventional restrictions), they must be made aware of the musical materials around them. Once some skill has been achieved in working with the known, musical structures from other traditions can be introduced for further development.

3. Performance and the coding of cultural knowledge therein seems most effective when combined with a related motor activity--be it gesturing, dancing, or dramatizing. The learning of melody is a process of assimilating movement; the learning of rhythm is a process of setting that movement into a time frame. We would do well to take our cue from the notion of "total performance" found in many cultures. This means that, rather than training children to sit through a concert without flexing a muscle, we should encourage them to respond physically and emotionally to sound and movement. Our western culture is one of the few that promotes emotional and motor restraint during performance. Moreover, we tend to separate performers from

audiences on the basis of skill, which in the end can only be acquired through effort and repetition.

4. The area of competence and performance evaluation is one that we as adults have usurped from our children. Peer evaluation in performance is crucial to the growth of self-confidence and critical analysis. Children can and do develop an aesthetic criticism of their own. We need to respect and cultivate these qualities among our students. Let them spawn and evaluate their own creations. In this way we can learn more about the internalization of the musical experience.

5. As ethnomusicologists, we need to direct our inquiry toward the learning process as informed by cross-cultural comparison. Among our questions should be the following: How is a sense of "order" taught to children? What experiences are used to refine a sense of structure? Are childhood repertoires significantly different from the repertoires of adulthood? Are children's repertoires perpetuated by adults, or are they created primarily by children? What musical resources are available to children? How is skill acquired? What methods of self-evaluation exist within a group? How does performance affect socialization? How does socialization affect performance?

Ethnomusicologists and music educators stand on a threshold of mutual recognition and cooperation. Our dialogues should begin to embrace these questions, as well as those areas in which we cannot fully explain what we are observing without a collaboration between our two perspectives. We have spent much energy delineating what we can teach children. Perhaps it is time that we let the children teach us.

Notes

[1] Some of the most helpful studies on non-Western cultures have been written by Blacking (1967), Berliner (1978), Brody (1978), Frisbie (1967), Kartomi (1980), May (1963), and Nettl (1956). These works suggest that we should consider children as a point of entry to the study of culture, rather than relegating children to a marginal place within social systems.

[2] The main topics of my research in these two contexts were not directed toward children. It was constant exposure to children and my search for explanation that led me to turn to children for enlightenment. These research periods were funded by an Indiana University Latin American Fellowship, a Ford Cross-Cultural Grant, a grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health, a Faculty Grant from the Columbia Council for Research in the Humanities, and a University of Maryland Special Research Award.

[3] The sign ɣ, as in *goɣo*, indicates the post-veolar fricative. In the second case study, ŋ, as in *ŋiyipun*, indicates a veolar attack similar to but softer than the sound *ng*.

[4] The Mapuche and many other Native American groups recognize a dual soul within each person. In this instance, an individual soul (*alwe* or *pullu*) is born into a person and leaves that person's body at death to undertake a long journey into the land of the ancestors. Burials still include warm clothes and food that can be used by the traveling soul during its final pilgrimage. The ancestral and lineage soul (*kimpen*) is breathed into a person at birth. At death, this spirit that links an individual to all living and deceased members of a lineage is conveyed directly to the ancestors through *tayil* performance. *Tayil* is the only known way of actualizing the transcendent power of the lineage soul.

[5] Elsewhere (Robertson, 1979) I have shown that the melodic structure of *tayil* is directly linked to a visual pattern that generates aspects of performance practice. Women who perform *tayil* frequently are able to draw a four-part diagram that equates melodic contours with specific directions required to enter ancestral time after death.

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Chapter 11

Music Learned but Not Taught: The Bulgarian Case

Timothy Rice

Ethnomusicologists can make at least four kinds of contributions to music education. First, we can report on music education and transmission in other cultures. Second, we can confront the underlying assumptions of music education with the underlying assumptions of ethnomusicology. Third, we can provide music educators with materials directly relevant to their classroom needs. Fourth, we can help to test cross-culturally the validity of claims made about the nature of music perception and learning and about the acquisition of music skills. Since this conference was clearly organized with the first kind of contribution in mind, I will concentrate in this paper on some of the things I learned about the teaching and transmission of music from eighteen months of field work in Bulgaria and a further nine-month association with Kostadin and Todora Varimezov, Bulgaria's leading bagpiper and his wife, who were visiting artists at the University of Toronto. In attempting to learn from other cultures we have much to gain. Kurt Vonnegut (1974, p. 139) put it this way:

> I didn't learn until I was in college about all the other cultures, and I should have learned that in the first grade. A first grader should understand that his or her culture isn't a rational invention; that there are thousands of other cultures and they all work pretty well; that all cultures function on faith rather than truth; that there are lots of alternatives to our own society.... It's ... a source of hope. It means we don't have to continue this way if we don't like it.

Bulgaria is a small country of nine million people in the southeastern corner of Europe. Slavic in origin, they were invaded by and absorbed Central Asian conquerers, the Bulgars, in the sixth century, were Christianized in the ninth invaded and occupied by the Ottoman Turks from the fourteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, ruled briefly by a Hapsburg royal family until the end of World War II, and only began to industrialize and urbanize after the formation of a Communist government in 1944. The long period under Ottoman domination separated Bulgaria culturally from the main developments of European history: the Renaissance, Reformation, and the French, American, and Industrial Revolutions. Thus, an almost medieval European rural, agricultural society was preserved right into the last half of the twentieth century, with traces of pre-Christian, pagan rituals and some Moslem habits and musical styles. In the four decades since the Communists gained power, Bulgaria has made tremendous economic and educational progress, collectivizing agriculture more successfully than any other Communist country, upgrading the distribution and standards of education, and increasing dramatically the contribution of industry to national life and wealth.

Music and music education have changed profoundly with these recent changes in the larger social fabric. In traditional agricultural societies, music is woven into the fabric of life in very intimate ways. In Bulgaria, the cycle of seasons, with its changing patterns of work, largely determined the patterns of music and song that were performed. Certain songs and dances were associated with certain times of the year partly in a magical effort to assure fertility and the continuation of the cycle and partly to mark the reemergence and special character of each season. The musicians and singers were, with the exception of some wandering gypsy professional musicians, the villagers themselves, almost all of whom could perform at least a few songs or instrumental tunes. They exchanged their musical skills for gifts, the respect of their neighbors, personal satisfaction, and in a few cases a hoped-for magical effect.

Today in Bulgaria, music occupies a position roughly analogous to its position in America and Western Europe. It is heard constantly on the radio without regard for the appropriateness of the season or the occasion. Since the patterns of work have changed--the land is no longer privately owned and work has been "rationalized" over the whole year--the connection between the seasons, work, and music has been broken. A money economy has replaced exchange systems, allowing for more specialization of labor and a new, more respectable role for professional musicians. A new distinction is now made between amateur and professional musicians, and the latter receive extensive and systematic training in conservatories devoted to "folk music."

In observing the relationship between larger patterns of social change and the concommitant music change, as well as the tremendous variety that exists in the world of music, ethnomusicologists have learned one of the main general lessons they have to teach about music education, a point that will emerge many times in the papers at this conference: the music cultures of the world vary considerably in how they value music, how access is gained to music, and how it is passed on from generation to generation. In some cultures, it is valued as an artistic and cultural accomplishment, and consequently made widely available through systematic teaching methods. To some extent this has become the case in present-day Bulgaria. In other cultures, such as some Moslem cultures for example, music is scorned as an instrument of the devil, restricted to lower classes or certain families, and music skills are kept secretively within a narrow circle. In every culture who is trained or educated as a musician and how they are trained depends crucially on broader cultural dynamics.

The Bulgarian case, particularly as remembered by older people raised before World War II, lies somewhere between the extremes outlined above. As a primarily rural, agricultural society, it valued hard work above almost everything else. While time was always made to celebrate, dance, and worship through music, there was hardly time to develop music and other arts separately from their potential contribution to sustaining everyday life. Access to music, for example, was determined traditionally by the work roles assigned to men and women. Since women's work--cooking, clothes making, house and field work--was almost never done, women did not learn to play musical instruments. To practice a musical instrument would have been a sign that they were not caring properly for their families. Singing was women's musical pasttime: it accompanied and lightened work in the fields and at home as women worked together in small groups of friends and relatives. Men, on the other hand, cared for animals, drove oxcarts and tractors, and did some field work, work that left them with free hands both during herding and after work was done. Instrumental music was a valued pasttime during the long hours of idleness while herding and grazing animals.

In the case of both men and women, music was valued traditionally primarily as a pasttime, and virtually everyone developed at least minimal musical skills. Excessive devotion to music and song were not particularly valued, since there was no obvious economic payoff. As one musician's father told him, trying to discourage his obvious interest in and skill at instrumental music, "Music cannot feed a household." The only people who traditionally could live by music alone were outsiders, the scorned and poor gypsies. To be a "professional" musician would have meant a life on the road, away from one's family and village much of the time and inattention to the family home and fields, whose condition was one of the main sources of personal pride and respect in this culture.

The music, song, and dance that developed under these conditions are remarkable for their virtuosity, particularly in the extensive ornamentation applied to both instrumental and vocal melodies. (Many commercially available recordings of Bulgarian folk music can be used to verify this statement.) Obviously there was time to sing, dance, and play music in this culture, although not supported by elaborate systems of patronage as in many courtly and bourgeois societies. Rather, music was "folded in" to everyday work life, and the long stretches of female handwork and male animal husbandry afforded ample opportunity to perfect technical skills and develop large repertoires.

Traditional Bulgarian music education was embedded in these musical, historical and social realities. It may be presumptuous to believe that a process so tied to one culture could offer much to another culture's way of educating its young in music. Yet that is Vonnegut's hope and one of the challenges of this conference.

I will make five observations about Bulgarian music education, together with some suggestions about what they imply for our system of music education. Many of these observations are surely not unique to Bulgarian culture. Many may have already been tried by music teachers, but perhaps their placement in a particular cultural milieu will bring them into relief in a way that will allow their careful consideration at this conference and in the future.

The five basic lessons are: (a) music can be learned when not actively taught; (b) speech about music, even our own, is highly metaphorical and can actually impede teaching/learning until the metaphors are understood; (c) one of the main obstacles to virtuosity may not be a lack of talent but incorrect conceptualization of music; (d) the size of one's repertoire is perhaps the single most important sign of musical competence; and (e) becoming a good musician is attributed primarily to good social skills rather than to "talent."

1. That music can be and is learned without the active intervention of music teachers is obvious in most "folk" traditions. Although it has been claimed that most cultures have some systematic method for teaching music and indeed many have excellent systems, in Bulgaria men acquire instrumental music and women acquire songs through listening to adult performances aimed primarily at other adults. There is no separate repertoire of children's songs that might provide some sort of initial training and, except to provide a boy with an instrument and a girl with plenty of opportunities to hear others sing, there is little or no adult "teaching" of music. Despite this laissez faire attitude, virtually every girl acquires some songs and every boy can play a tune on a shepherd's flute. It is important that everyone learn some songs or instrumental music for at least two reasons. First, music, song and dance performances are considered attractive and, together with physical beauty and the capacity for hard work, a main way that young men and women present themselves publicly to each other. As one woman replied to my question about whether girls in her village were still learning to sing the old songs, "A girl without a song, is it possible?" The second main reason to acquire these skills was as a pasttime in a culture that was "preliterate" and "pre-Walkman." Today young shepherds read in the fields rather than play flutes, and this traditional reason for learning music is becoming less important.

Transplanting these observations back into our own culture, it becomes obvious that much the same thing might be said about our own children, particularly in the way they absorb popular and "television" music. They come into the schools with a tremendous amount of "musical knowledge" in the sense of knowing tunes, identifying musical groups by their sounds and so on. One question for music educators is how to tap that reservoir of knowledge. Or do we teach our own version of musical knowledge and pretend the young people come in as blank slates? What constitutes "musical knowledge"? The lesson here surely is that the musical environment is one of the main teachers of music and much can be learned from it. Are we using our own musical environment as effectively as we might? Could music teachers become "facilitators" of musical abilities and expressions already there rather than "transmitters" of the teacher's particular brand of musical knowledge? Why not school music groups that perform without a conductor/teacher? At a recent "provincial showcase" concert in Ontario, I was astonished at the extent to which the conductor/teacher was being showcased and yearned to see a group perform as if out of its own initiative and desire, with the teacher in the background.

2. If Bulgarians acquire musical skills without the active intervention of teachers, how do they acquire them? Primarily by watching, listening, and doing in a process of trial and error. No one shows or "breaks down" complex musical ideas or gestures into simple ones, and no one describes analytically the parts of a musical composition. Bulgarians' musical understanding is largely unmediated by language, and yet the results of this self-teaching are musicians and singers who "know" the tradition so completely that they can compose or improvise new songs and tunes when the situation demands. This observation, together with many like it from other cultures, surely should challenge enthomusicologists and music educators alike to develop theories of "pure" musical understanding of the kind we observe when musicians transmit and receive musical knowledge to each other wordlessly.

Although Bulgarians do speak to each other about music (see Rice, 1980, and Marshall, 1982 for details), speech is not used primarily in teaching situations. An examination of other cultures' ways of talking about music reveals, among other things, the extent to which speech about music is metaphorical and may, in certain instances, actually impede learning rather than help it. Bulgarians, for example, use metaphors quite different from our own. They refer, for example, to high and low pitches as "thin" and "fat," respectively. High and low are metaphors translating the spatial domain into the aural. Until we are confronted with alternative ways of talking about music, we tend to assume that our way of talking about music is "natural" and "descriptive" rather than metaphorical. I watched my five-year-old son, for example, stare uncomprehendingly at his Suzuki piano teacher as she tried to get him to play a note that was "higher" than the one he was playing--this of course before he had been introduced to musical notation. He had no idea what she was talking about and finally resorted to lifting his hands "up" off the keyboard. A searching examination of the metaphors we use to describe music might make teachers and students more aware of the constraints inherent in the way we talk about music.

3. When musicians must learn a highly virtuosic tradition, such as the Bulgarian one, on their own by watching and listening, how do they proceed? How and in what order are musical concepts learned? When teachers control the learning of music they often take pains to introduce supposedly simple gestures first and slowly build up musical competence in what they take to be a systematic growth in complexity. Bulgarian children trying to learn instrumental music notice that the hands of the player move rapidly and the tones emerge with great speed. From the beginning they attempt to imitate this sound and those finger movements. Their early attempts at playing sound like what we call "noodling." Eventually they "understand" what some of the basic ornamental gestures are and slowly move to expand the length of musical ideas they can play. My teacher told me he had played the bagpipes for two or three years before he played his first tune. Presumably before that time he was playing rather random and unorganized ornamental gestures and fragments of melody. As a consequence of this method of learning, Bulgarian instrumentalists speak about playing skill and knowledge as if it were located in the hands, not the mind.

In trying to learn this highly virtuosic tradition I found that I had the cognitive categories to handle the basic features of melody and rhythm and began by playing the melody and rhythm slowly with no ornamentation. I couldn't play with the proper ornamentation because I didn't "know" what they were doing. I couldn't hear "fast enough." The breakthrough came when I finally figured out how to move my hands. In effect, I learned that my hands were the repository of musical ideas (discussed at length for jazz piano in Sudnow, 1978), and that these ideas about ornamentation had been incorrect. My ideas about this music had been represented in musical notation as melody notes plus various rather complex grace notes, but now they were encapsulated in hand motions that were much simpler and more efficient than musical notes. Five or six notes would now emerge out of one "idea" of hand movement, whereas before five or six notes took five or six separate ideas or hand movements to produce.

Once these ideas/hand motions were simplified and correct, a kind of virtuosity on the instrument was instantaneous--correct style and a quantum leap in speed coupled with a corresponding mental freedom to consider other more subtle aspects of music making, such as rhythmic drive and expression. Before this experience I used to assume that my inability to play well in this style had something to do with physical limitations and a lack of "talent." Now I understand that these physical limitations and this lack of "talent" were really limitations in conceptualization that were relatively easily corrected. I wonder whether music educators might like to consider the extent to which limitations of technique, musicality, or "playing with feeling" might have to do with limitations in the conceptualization of music. "Talent" is a culturally limited and unexamined concept that may actually impede music teaching and learning. Perhaps teachers need to know how to impart the right "ideas" about music to overcome their students' apparent musical limitations.

4. In the context of Bulgarian culture, where everyone learns to produce at least a bit of musical behavior, how are musicians evaluated? Mainly in terms of the size of their repertoire. Everyone acquires some aspects of the tradition, and many players can give the impression of a daunting virtuosity, one that outsiders have to struggle to achieve. What separates the poorer musician from the better tends to be size of repertoire, the ability to move beyond relatively simple, short gestures, no matter how virtuosic, to longer and longer melodies and more and more pieces.

In our own "classical music culture" it sometimes seems as though the ability to read music and the production of a "beautiful tone" are the main indexes of musicality, or at least important obstacles to overcome before more subtle aspects of musicianship can be demonstrated. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, neither of these obstacles is present. The music is learned in aural tradition and many of the instruments more or less play themselves, giving the player very little control of tone quality. In any case, in outdoor playing situations the most important tone quality is loudness. In this context, the way a musician demonstrates his mastery is through the acquisition of a large repertoire. This repertoire is available at a moment's notice to be recalled and performed. A person who could read music but not bring any of it to living sound from memory would hardly qualify as a useful and respected musician.

My experience auditioning prospective students for one of Canada's leading university music schools, as well as observing my son's music lessons, suggests that acquiring an active repertoire of music that one can produce on demand is hardly a high priority in our music training, at least until rather late in the process. The result, of course, is the appearance of incompetence in othewise relatively skilled students, as if we lived in a culture where music was taught but not learned. In substituting written scores for the brain as the main storage system for music, we may be depriving our students of one of the most important music experiences—the ability to generate music, whether improvised or precomposed, from within one's body and self. This is not to suggest that music notation is at fault, but simply that students need to be directed earlier in their training than at present to absorb music into their bodies and brains, to generate it rather than merely to reproduce it.

5. Granted that not everyone acquires a large repertoire, who actually becomes the best musicians in Bulgaria and how are differences in musical achievement rationalized? Only a few, after all, move beyond a certain rudimentary competence to become sought-after musicians or singers for public events like weddings and fairs. People who emerge as skilled musicians tend to rationalize their ability, not in terms of "talent" but in terms of

"enthusiasm" and "good social skills." Since music is learned on the basis of person-to-person interaction, musicians cite a wide range of acquaintances, good friends who want to help them, and respectful interaction with old people who bear the tradition as crucial factors for the growth of repertoire, which is the most important criterion for a good musician. Many of them report learning tunes from friends who were not particularly good musicians but who could sing tunes and wanted to pass them on.

I would imagine something like this must happen in the area of popular music and may even be at work in private music lessons and band classes. Should music education recognize the impact of personal qualities on success in music? Occasionally they point with pride at the salutary effects of music training on general behavior, particularly in school contexts. The Bulgarian case suggests that the relationship cuts both ways and that students could benefit from a greater awareness of the impact of behavior on musical success. Should students be taught how to take music lessons?

More to the point, what is "talent" and how useful a concept is it in music education? Is it used to justify failure or to explain success? The Bulgarian case, and many others from the whole world of music, teaches us that other explanations for success are possible. If our goal is music education for everyone, as it is for the music educators in the province of Ontario, then it may behoove us to seek alternative explanations to account for differences in musical ability and interest.

These then are some of the things I have learned about music education in the Bulgarian case. I hope they will provide one or more interesting points of departure for consideration and discussion by music educators and that we can indeed proceed to new ways of educating our youth in music.

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Chapter 12

Performances and Workshops

David P. McAllester

It is a tradition of Music Educators National Conference that discussions of music should be accompanied by the performance of music. A variety of workshops and performances in music and dance underscored many of the points made in the Wesleyan Symposium. Additional aspects of world music in relation to music teaching that did not find their way into the formal discourse were also illustrated. One of these was the role world music can have in the lives of American musicians: it is possible to participate in world music traditions other than one's own.

Adrienne Kaeppler gave a workshop in Polynesian dance in which she taught the fluid, allusive gestures and their poetic, witty meanings. To show how this could be translated to the classroom, Joann W. Keali'inohomoku presented "Adapting Features of Hawaiian and Hopi Music and Dance for Classroom Application."

Analogy--music/dance to cuisine:

1. As in the United States, new foods are added to the taste repertory, and we eat foods labeled Hungarian, German, French, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, and have added recently Thai, East Indian, Middle Eastern.

2. But often the foods are approximated rather than replicated in order to adapt to American lifestyles and availability of ingredients.

3. So music/dance from areas not well known in the United States, previously, can have increased contribution to the perceptual and experiential repertory, to enhance appreciation of the scope of music and dance, and to encourage freshness of approach and stimulate creative endeavors.

The following suggestions are not recipes to duplicate Hawaiian or Hopi music/dance but, instead, are suggestive ideas that feature ingredients that are "available in this country" to be reasonable facsimilies of the more exotic ingredients.

These units could effectively combine music, English composition, and art classes.

HAWAIIAN	HOPI
1. New aesthetic--all persons can participate if dedicated to expressing emotions and giving close attention to words.	1. New aesthetic--all persons can participate because this is their pleasurable responsibility.
2. Everyone in audience has a good time, speaks up, tries to guess riddle of song. Express enthusiasm by applause and comments.	2. Everyone in audience (male audience for female performers, female audience for male performers) concentrates on the good thoughts suggested by performance. All feel happy but do not applaud.
3. Focus of performers on audience All face audience except for brief interruptions caused by turns. They maintain eye contact with with audience.	3. Focus of performers on idea of song. Never face audience except briefly during 180° turns.Never have eye eye contact with audience.
4. Make idiophones: a. Matched pairs of smooth stones, flat, and 2-1/2 inches in diameter. b. Dowels or even broomhandles cut in 15" lengths. Pairs used for striking. c. Get bamboo on which new carpets and rugs are often rolled --cut in 18"-24" lengths and make vertical cuts for 2/3 of length. d. Scoop out gourd after having carefully removed neck. Let dry out. Use to make rattles or to strike. e. Decorate empty ice cream cartons of the size from ice cream shops. Make single headed drum. No drumstick.	4. Make idiophones: a. Fill empty plastic containers with pebbles or dried legumes, and create rattles by attaching dowels for handles. b. See e. from Hawaiian list, but make two headed drum. Make drum stick from dowel with padded sock or small rubber ball affixed to end. c. Devise "tinklers" or use bells to be attached to dancer's clothing after and, for males, to be attached around knee.

HAWAIIAN	HOPI
5. Decide program of persons and places to be given public appreciation. Think of words that can obliquely describe the appearance and qualities them. Good introduction of concepts of double entendre and metaphor.	5. Class creates a mission. Develop an integrated collection of symbols that can develop "thickness" of meanings but that are all associated with the "mission."
6. Write the poetry. Introduce term "recitatives," "linked assonance."	6. Write the poetry following AABBA, short verbal pictures derived from symbols (see above). "Vocables."
7. Set to music. Introduce ideas that are associated with chanting, performance techniques such as falsetto, melisma. Try through-composed, experiment with stanzas repeated two times.	7. Set to music, use familiar melody and then adapt it to fit the poetry breaking away from usual metric patterns, and adjusting it to AABBA, increased tempo during BB and song using cascading melodic line.
8. Create dance. Dancers stand arm's length apart and face audience. Figure out pantomine for words that don't give the riddle away. Maintain eye contact with audience. If an occasional full turn, do rarely and only then break eye contact. Let hands be flexible while pantomiming words, and let dancers move a step or two from right to left during poetry, but not much locomotion. At beginning and end acknowledge audience with pose, that is, "ready to start" and bow at at end.	8. Create dance. Stand single file with profile to audience. Think diligently about meaning of song. Mark rhythms in place with feet stepping and little or no locomotion. At the end of a phrase the whole line can make 180° turn so long as the dance begins and ends facing same direction. Letter rattle and tinklers match rhythms. Let hands be abrupt, fingers close together. No acknowledgement of audience--just walk on, walk off.

Applied Examples:

I have put together a person-honoring poem and a place chant, using honorees that are known to us all. In the classroom, however, students might want to honor the principal, the policeman, the coach, or the class president. They might want to write poetry about the city park, the school auditorium, the swimming pool, or a pine tree.

Suppose the mission is that of world peace. Symbols known to most Americans can include the dove, hand clasp, lion and lamb, and so on. Just for the purpose of this example, let's make the following relationships:
Yellow - communication - East
White - understanding - North
Blue - caring - West
Red - sharing - South

The following two songs in both Hawaiian-inspired and Hopi-inspired formats can give examples:

HAWAIIAN-INSPIRED

A fair woman darts back and forth
Or flying hither and thither in white
I see the sacred space in half and half
Back and forth on her side only
We applaud her arm and eye
Why is clear because she darts
Artfully after the flying white globe
Over mesh while struck with mesh
Everytime I see her fly by
My head moves from side to side.

(Spoken)
This is the end of my riddle.
Can you guess?
I sing a praise song for Chrissie Evert Lloyd.

Spacious, spacious is a true word
Heard in times of the gathering of people
Love is shown for the place that, yes,
Stretches between two great waters.

(Repeat)

Rising high from buildings and from mountains
So huge it could hold many lands from far away
Made beautiful by the flowers of other lands

(Repeat)

This is the end of my story that
At best is a wonderful dream
We must try to make be reality

This is the end of my story, for the last time, that
At best there is a wonderful dream
We must try to make be reality
(Spoken)
What do I mean?
I sing an honoring song for
The United States of America.

HOPI-INSPIRED

A white dove is flying
To bring a gift
Trala lala lala
(Repeat)

Now is the time ... for Peace
Now is the time ... for Peace

A yellow dove is flying
To bring a gift
Trala lala lala

(Etc.)
(try this by adapting "Go tell Aunt Rhodie").

On the scales are two yellow creatures
Sing fol de rol de layo oh
(Repeat)

Yellow lion, yellow lamb
Weigh the same ... The Same
(Repeat)

On the scales are two white creatures
Sing fol de rol de layo oh
(Etc.)
(Try this by adapting "Look What They've Done to my Song").

David P. McAllester offered a workshop in Native American music and dance to show how this kind of material can also be adapted to the classroom. The audience learned a round dance song and volunteers then came on stage and quickly learned how to perform the dance. McAllester then suggested some of the meanings the circle has in American Indian thought to remind the audience of the complex symbolic content that can be carried in an apparently simple art.

Charles M. H. Keil demonstrated the points made in his paper about the salsa as a vehicle of togetherness, readily available to the Atlantic Rim cultures. He found within a few miles of Middletown a group of salsa performers: Alejandro Jimenez, Meriam Morales, Mary Ann Proppas, and John Zentura. These experts showed the symposium members at first hand not only the simple levels at which beginners can join in the pleasure of participation, but also the dazzling invention possible for the sophisticated.

Two concerts in the Wesleyan Summer School series occurred during the week and were, of course, appropos to the purposes of the symposium. A performance of Baroque flute and harpischord music by Thomas Nyfenger, flutist, Britt Wheeler, harpsichordist, and Peter Standaart, guest flutist, reminded us that Western art music has an honored place in the wrold's music. A concert of South Indian music demonstrated a different but equal virtuosity. T. Viswanathan played a simple wooden flute with exquisite sensitivity. The other three musicians in the concert returned us to the earlier theme of Western musicians performing world music at the professional level: David Nelson played the mridangam, Gordon Korstange, the flute, and Josepha Cormack, the tampura.

"Music from Mataram" represented the musical legacy of the historic kingdom of Mataram in central Java. The concert was performed by the Boston Village Gamelan, under the artistic direction of D. Samuel Quigley. Significantly, the entire ensemble is made up of Americans. They are a group of young people, in large part graduates of Wesleyan but also containing musicians who learned gamelan at Goddard College, the University of Michigan, the University of California at Berkeley, the California Institute of the Arts, Cornell University, and the University of Wisconsin. These musicians are continuing their enjoyment of gamelan as a private, professional performing group. They encouraged the audience to move around freely and sit by the players during the performance, and they served Indonesian food to add to the feeling of informal participation that a private gamelan performance would have had in Indonesia. At several points the musicians spoke to the audience on the importance of the group in their lives: that it was an extended family, providing social, as well as musical sustenance. This occasion was also a demonstration of the flowering of gamelan music in the United States. There are over 100 of them, mostly at colleges and universities, but nearly 30 are owned and operated privately. Though most of them have been imported from Indenosia, several of these complex ensembles of gongs and xylophones have been built in the United States.

The concert of Cambodian music by Moly Sam and her group of musicians and dancers was also arranged for the symposium. The success of this group, all Cambodians, in preserving their art after being uprooted from their homes and transplanted halfway around the world, speaks to the power of music and dance in maintaining a sense of cultural identity. Moly Sam opened to the symposium a rehearsal of their program as a workshop. We saw how the music and dance reflect the cultural traditions, and how young people are encouraged to perform by learning simplified techniques that still carry, symbolically, the literary content of the dance.

Gerald Johnson's demonstration was arranged with a class of school children from Middletown to respond to his musical lecture on paleontology. A brief section on dinosaurs is reproduced here:

Long ago ... for over 150 million years, the world was filled with Dinosaurs. Each verse introduces the participating listener to a different dinosaur or other large reptile from that era, along with some of their distinctive features.

Stegosaur was small of brain,
But comfort-wise he was no fool;
Upon the hot Jurassic plain,
His plates helped him to keep his cool.

Triceratops ate plants instead
Of killin' like her fiercer kin;
Still, when trouble reared its head,
She couldn't keep from hornin' in.

Pterodactyl minced no words,
Said, "Soaring can be lots of fun,
But all this flapping's for the birds;
Someone should evolve to one."

Pleisosaur of ancient stock
Has gone extinct unless he
Managed with a bit of Loch
To beat the odds as Nessie.

But how do we know today that, long ago, dinosaurs lived on Earth? Children with imaginary shovels gather the data of paleontology as they "Dig Dinosaurs" in rhythm to the next song and, in the process, learn about stratification as a relative dating technique.

Dinosaurs are gone from the Earth;
They won't be back again;
But, when we find their fossil remains,
We know where they've been.

When we dig down into the Earth,
Everyone should know.
The newer things are found nearer the top
And the older down below.

Human bones are found nearer the top,
When we dig in the ground;
Dinosaur bones are deep, deep, deep,
From when there were no humans around.

"How do we know?"

We dig, dig, dig, dig, dig dinosaurs ...
And find their fossils that way.

The children participated with a will and were entranced with the small pieces of fossil bone that Johnson gave them at the end of their performance.

Chapter 13

Discussion Groups

Edward O'Connor

Discussions that took place following the papers given by ethnomusicologists at the Wesleyan Symposium centered on several topics: approaches to the application of ethnomusicology to the teaching and learning process in music, priorities in the process of curriculum change, and issues and needs that remain to be resolved. These are reported here primarily from the point of view of the music educators who were present. All levels of music education were represented.

Before describing approaches, issues, and needs, it is important to acknowledge the fact that for some time there have been ethnomusicologists who have been actively engaged in music education, who have provided resources and approaches, and whose work already has made an impact on classrooms. And there are skilled and artful music teachers who have committed themselves to learning about the musics of various cultures and are already engaging children in stimulating, successful, and culturally valid experiences with world musics. So it is not the intention here, by focusing on issues and needs, to give the impression that the excellent work already being done has not been recognized.

However, it is the relatively limited scope of this effort that the Wesleyan Symposium was designed to address. The seriousness of this matter might be highlighted by citing two dissertations completed at the University of Connecticut in 1974. I doubt that circumstances have changed substantially since then.

One dissertation was a nationwide survey of supervisors of student teachers to determine what competencies and objectives they felt student teachers should achieve before entering the teaching field (Raiman, 1974, p. 76). Supervisors were asked to rank 145 objectives, derived from the literature, and to rate them on a scale of most important, very important, important, little importance, or no importance. With a high percentage of return, supervisors of student teachers rated the objective that concerned knowledge of and the ability to teach world musics of little importance. The objective ranked 121st out of 145.

Another dissertation surveyed public school teachers in Connecticut to determine what musical objectives were appropriate and achievable by students by the time they completed high school (Wade, 1974, p. 59). Again, those objectives that dealt with knowledge of world musics ranked below most other objectives. So it is within this context that we need to view the discussion and conceptions of music teachers at the Wesleyan Symposium, bearing in mind that the people who attended were those who were motivated to attend and were not large in number.

In terms of positive outcomes of the papers and discussions, the music educators found the ethnomusicologists to be insightful and stimulating in their presentations, with many aspects of their remarks relevant to music education. Especially important was the perspective that was reinforced in paper after paper: the anthropological perspective of viewing another culture from its own world view. We saw how world view is reflected in mythology, how mythology is represented in social structure, and how music is interrelated with social structure.[1] This may all seem very obvious to those who are familiar with the anthropological and ethnomusicological literature, but to a sixth-grade teacher confronting the task of teaching a folk song found in a book isolated from its cultural context, this may not be obvious at all.

A second recurring theme in the papers that received considerable attention in discussion was the interrelatedness of music, dance, drama, ritual, and the visual elements of most cultures. Discussion concerned not only how to incorporate all of the aspects in the music class, but how to relate music to other subjects in the curriculum.

A third general theme was the learning process itself. Common practices in many cultures include learning by imitation of adults on the part of children, extracting simpler forms for children from complex music, peer teaching, and learning through initiation at particular stages of life within the community context. Discussion centered on the possibilities and the limitations that the public school setting imposes on these forms of learning.

Perhaps it should be noted here that the papers were not intended to be "how to" papers loaded with tips for teachers in the classroom, but were directed more toward perspectives. And the discussions were quite open-ended, frequently with a revolving membership in the groups, so that there was no mandate to derive lists of classroom approaches and techniques. Nevertheless, certain approaches did emerge and were the subject of discussion, including at least the following:

1. Music may be learned by *doing*, by experiencing, by making music, rather than just learning *about* music. So an active approach in the classroom was encouraged.

2. For students to be successful in the creative and improvisatory forms of music making, they must first master the *skills* with which to be creative. This again is an active approach.

3. In some--or many--cultures music is inseparable from dance. Therefore, movement is an important aspect of the active approach.

4. Given the fact that not all elements of performance practice can be represented in notation, there should be an oral or visual model for

performance. For example, Adrienne Kaeppler discussed her new book on Polynesian dance that includes an integrated score; that is, notation, words, and dance movements represented by figures showing body positions for each beat of the music, with a recording of the songs (Kaeppler, 1983). Use of the materials was practiced in a workshop.

5. Music should be viewed in the cultural context accounting for values, meanings, social structure, and shared perceptions of the culture. David McAllester demonstrated this approach at a very accessible level in a workshop with a Navajo song and dance, involving participants actively in the experience. Several of the papers touched on aspects of meaning, values, and social structure.

6. It is possible to learn music of our own culture by processes of learning from other cultures. Barbara Schmidt-Wrenger gave an example of a group of students who learned a 16th century chanson, not under the direction of a conductor, but as a unified social experience much as the Tshokwe of Zaire would experience music.

7. Charles Keil suggested that in classrooms where students do not already have a strong sense of identity with at least one culture and its music--presumably their own--then one should be provided for them so that they have some sense of grounding and identity in a culture. He suggested that salsa music provides a good approach because the basic rhythms and dance steps are not difficult to master. This also was demonstrated in a workshop.

As these approaches were addressed in the discussion sessions, several issues arose:

1. Not everyone agreed with Charles Keil that salsa provided an appropriate cultural base for all students. He has used it successfully in the public schools in Buffalo, New York, but those who had not tried it were not convinced that it would be best for their students.

2. Not everyone understood what Barbara Schmidt-Wrenger meant by a "unified social experience" as an approach to music of our own culture, and saw little relationship between world musics and sixteenth-century chansons. Perhaps a demonstration involving the participants, rather than a recording, would have clarified the approach.

3. In regard to presenting music from the standpoint of cultural context, teachers were particularly concerned about the adequacy of their own training. They raised the question, "How do I become culturally competent, particularly given the time constraints and all of the responsibilities I face in my job?" They were especially alarmed when some ethnomusicologists acknowledged that, even though they had studied a culture for years, they still felt that there were things they had not yet mastered or understood fully. The teachers' reaction was to say, "How do I dare even presume to start teaching the music of any culture if the experts are uncertain?" So, training, skills, and cultural competence became a major issue.

4. A related issue was the appropriateness of any material selected for classroom use. When the ethnomusicologists pointed out that certain songs were sacred in a culture and should not be used outside of the ritual context, music teachers said, to quote one individual, "How do I know that I won't be

violating that culture, or at least stepping on toes, if I use material from that culture?"

5. This led to a discussion of authenticity of materials. The concern was to avoid on the one hand the presentation of stereotypes (what might be called the "Ten Little Indians" approach to teaching ethnic music in which youngsters stick a feather in the hair, leap around in a circle, yell "Woo, woo, woo," and sing "One little, two little, three little Indians"), while on the other hand not being so anxious about authenticity and the sacredness of materials as to be discouraged from using any of it.

6. Another issue was the extent to which a teacher should concentrate on the music of any one or just a few cultures as opposed to a more diversified survey. This was related to the next issue.

7. Not only must teachers be concerned about the extent to which they spread out the study of cultures, but must balance that with the study of standard Western repertoire as well. Of critical importance are the time constraints under which teachers work. One said, "I see the students for one half hour each week. How can I cover both non-Western and Western music?" Clearly, priorities in curriculum change, and the expectations of students, administrators, parents, and the larger community form a major issue with which teachers must grapple.

8. Teachers frequently feel isolated and unsupported in their pursuit of increased use of world musics in the curriculum. Several times the question came up, "How can I convince other teachers in my school that world musics are important?" Some suggestions came forward from those who had successfully develop interdisciplinary programs with teachers in other subjects, but they were sparse.

Beyond these issues, several needs surfaced during the discussion:

1. The Connecticut State Music Consultant said several times as the week progressed, "This is all well and good but I still haven't heard anyone suggest how this will be implemented. Where do we break into the cycle that keeps world musics at a low priority?" His concern is well taken. Certainly one place that it must occur is at the level of teacher training, for unless teachers feel adequately prepared to teach world musics, it just will not happen. There are enough models now in some teacher-training programs to demonstrate that student teachers can gain the skills, resources, perspective, and commitment to carry out curriculum change when they go into the field.

2. There is a need to provide a thorough in-service program for teachers who are out in the field. A thorough program means a series of workshops, or a graduate course, that will give teachers sufficient background and skills to take students through entire units of study. One-shot workshops rarely suffice. When teachers say, "That will get me through the first class, but what do I do the next day?" they probably will not begin at all.

3. There is a desperate need for resources that can be used readily in the classroom by teachers who do not have the time or the financial resources to develop classroom materials from the widely diverse texts and recordings now available or, all too frequently, available only to those who are clever and dedicated enough to seek them out and sort out those few examples appro-

priate for their students. A fourth-grade teacher described the travail that she went through to find one Indian song that would be suitable for her students. Perhaps she was overlooking some obvious sources that should have been close at hand, but her experience may be all too typical of those who set off across the world without a map. Can we expect teachers or school systems to buy entire Ethnic Folkways or Nonesuch Explorer collections to find those few selections that they will have time to include in their 30 or 40 minutes a week? Perhaps we need a graded anthology of recordings, selected to present a variety of styles and concepts that children can grasp at each grade level, something like the RCA Adventures In Music series for Western music. How about an Adventure in World Musics series with concise information about cultural context and sample teaching techniques and lesson plans?

4. There is a need to keep available those materials that already have been designed for classroom use. The low priority with which teachers and teacher trainers view world musics, as indicated by the surveys cited earlier, means that there usually is too small a market to keep materials in print. Luvenia A. George's Teaching the Music of Six Different Cultures in the Modern Secondary School, for example, has been out of print for several years (George, 1976). The Music Educators National Conference and the Society for Ethnomusicology may need to subsidize, or at least keep such materials highly visible until a sufficient market develops to make them commercially viable. Perhaps they could be included in the list of materials that can be purchased through MENC.

5. There is a need to overcome the isolation that teachers feel when they sense that no one is interested in what they want to do. There should be increased opportunities for teachers to meet with others of like interest at state, divisional, and national meetings of MENC, perhaps in conjunction with the Society for General Music. Similarly, teachers should be encouraged to join SEM and made to feel welcome. It is not rare for those who have not yet done field work abroad to feel self-conscious and very much as outsiders. Perhaps there should be sessions at the SEM national and chapter meetings directed specifically toward teachers.

6. Finally, it would be well for more ethnomusicologists to be active in MENC and its affiliate organizations and to take leadership roles. The opportunities are there. The Special Research Interest Groups of the Music Education Research Council offer several avenues. At the MENC Eastern Division In-Service Conference in 1985, for example, there is a research session on cross-cultural interpretation of music with ethnomusicologists taking part. As persons who are teaching world musics, ethnomusicologists are all music educators.

The Wesleyan Symposium has set some significant challenges for ethnomusicologists and music teachers to meet. Judging from the sincerity and intensity of the discussion, they will be met with fruitful results forthcoming for our school children.

Notes

[1] Note especially: Joan Keali'inohomoku, "Music and Dance of the Hawaiian and Hopi Peoples," Wesleyan Symposium, August 6, 1984.

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